

COMMUNIST NOMINATING CONVENTION OPENS HERE

CLOAK SHOPS ARE ALREADY PICKING REPRESENTATIVES

Cooper Union Mass
Meet Monday Evening

Outstanding among the numerous events that can be recorded and that show the rapid mobilization of the masses of workers in the ladies' garment industry for the re-organization of the trade by the National Organizing Committee are, first, the big conferences of shop representatives scheduled for next Saturday, and second, the mass meeting in Cooper Union which the Tolerance Group is calling for Monday evening, immediately after work.

The headquarters of the National Organizing Committee announces that many shops have already sent in notification of the fact that their delegates to the conference have already been chosen and many more will pick representatives early next week. The New York drive for the regaining of union conditions in the shops will be officially begun at this conference. Similar gatherings of shop delegates conferences are being arranged for other cities.

Cooper Union Meet.
The detailed plans for the inauguration of a campaign to rebuild the union and rid the trade of the Sigman bureaucracy which have been worked out by the N. O. C. will at this conference be transformed into action.

All preparations for the mass meeting in Cooper Union, which the Tolerance Group called when they severed relations with the Sigman union, of which they were functionaries, are completed, it was learned.

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STEEL MEN SLAVE 13 HOURS A DAY

Speed-Up Drives Serfs
Inhumanly

(By a Worker Correspondent)

SPARROWS POINT, Md., (By Mail).—Seventy-five per cent of the workers at the Bethlehem steel plant here work ten, twelve and in a lot of cases, thirteen hours a day. Electricians, painters, carpenters, ship workers, yard and maintenance men, oilers, shearmen, machine operators, thread cutters, bundlers, cranimen, plumbers, millwrights, inspectors, loaders and the hundreds of other jobs that are necessary to keep the mill going as well as take care of the product through its finishing process. The beforementioned trades work ten hours not counting half hour lunch. These men are divided into two shifts changing about, one week day and the following week at night.

Laborers.
I failed to mention the laborers of Bethlehem who compose a big slice of the workers here. This group composed mostly of Negroes, represent about the most exploited unorganized group of workers that I ever came into contact with. While their official name is that of laborer, a great majority of them are engaged in semi-skilled work and in most cases working under a perfected speed-up system. Here is an instance of common labor work under a speed-up system. Laborers engaged in loading box cars can increase their pay from the hourly rate of thirty-seven cents an hour to about thirty-eight or thirty-nine cents an hour by increasing the tonnage handled in the day time. This scheme of driving hard all day and loading up to maximum each worker will probably net them after a period of two weeks the princely sum of five dollars.

Most people picture a Negro labor gang as a slow moving group who take their sweet old southern style time about doing things will become changed when they see how Bethlehem trains their workers. Actually on a cold day, a group of Negro laborers were perspiring from working so fast

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Out-of-Town "Daily" Agents Meet Monday

All out-of-town DAILY WORKER agents attending the Nominating Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party are urged to attend a meeting to be held at the local office of THE DAILY WORKER, 26-28 Union Square, Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

Have Narrow Escape



The picture shows Helena Smith and her mother who had a narrow escape in the latest subway cave-in in upper New York. One boy is believed to have been buried alive when the badly shored excavation gave way.

MORE OFFICIALS IN STREET GRAFT

Higher-Ups Pull Wires
to Escape

Four petty employees yesterday were confronted by the possibility of imprisonment on charges of payroll padding and forgery in the New York department of street cleaning, while executives who profited to excess sit back pulling political wires to keep themselves out of prison. Evidence presented to a jury by District Attorney McGehean is expected to show that financial manipulations by department officials netted graft totaling between \$5,000,000 and \$7,000,000 annually.

It was learned this morning that two more employees of the Bronx street cleaning department have been arrested on forgery charges and two others were indefinitely suspended.

The four who are on trial are William J. Loughhead, garage foreman, whose confession was the basis of the present war on grafting city employees; Benjamin Stoeber, his assistant; Charles A. McGee, assistant general superintendent; and William J. Oswald, district superintendent.

The latest arrests for forgery were those of Max Schmollowitz, 1466 Grand Concourse, foreman of the branch at 1450 Brook Ave., an employee of the department for 31 years; and James Gevin, 467 West 143rd St., a sweeper.

BAKERS UNION WINS STRIKE

Local 1 Forces Silvers
to Settle

The six weeks' strike of the Amalgamated Food Workers, Bakers' Local 1, against the Silvers' Cafeterias ended yesterday with a victory for the union and the granting by the company of the demands of the bakers.

In surrendering to the union which has been fighting a militant battle, the company agrees to employ only union help and to meet other union standards. The strike was called six weeks ago when the restaurants shut out members and attempted to operate open shop.

Union officers yesterday attributed considerable credit for the victory to the fighting spirit of the bakers themselves, to the cloakmakers, furriers, printers and other workers of the sections in which the struck restaurants are located for their solidarity in supporting the strike, by withholding patronage from those places.

New Jersey Jewish Workers Meet

Jewish Workers Clubs of New Jersey will hold a conference in Newark tomorrow at 2 p. m. at the new United Workers Progressive Center Hall, 93 Mercer St., Newark.

The purpose of the conference is to discuss plans for a state picnic for miners' relief; to discuss plans for helping the new Workers Center in New York, and to discuss the role to be played by these clubs in the coming national and state elections.

FOR THE COOLIDGE PAYROLL

SAN FRANCISCO, May 25.—Customs collections for the San Francisco district in 1927 were \$2,443,362.29. This is nearly equal to the collections from the rest of California together with four other states and two territories.

American Marines Torture Civilians in Nicaragua

EXPOSE DETAILS OF IMPERIALIST REIGN OF TERROR

Says Sandino Can Hold
Out Indefinitely

LONDON, May 25.—A detailed description of marine terror in Nicaragua, accusing the American forces of murder, pillage and torture, was published today by the London Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party. The article was written by a special correspondent who has spent some time in the war area.

That most of the Nicaraguans killed by marines were civilians and not combatants is one of the indictments against the marines in the article. The writer gives specific details of marine terror:

Torture Old Man.

"The house of Colonel Marin, a known Sandino follower," he says, "was burned by marines and his mother taken away with her hands tied behind her back and a noose around her neck. Santiago Herrero, a wealthy farmer, 'refused to speak' when his place was invaded by American troops and was shot and later it turned out that he was dumb."

"Caldivia, a farmer in Pedernates, outside the combat zone, denied suggestions that he was a Sandino sympathizer. On December 26, 1927, twelve marines entered his hacienda while he was absent, burned the house, demolished sugar cane and destroyed 120 loads of corn. His son was taken to a near-by creek and shot and the

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7 MINERS KILLED IN NEW ACCIDENT

Contract System Leads
To Deaths

(Special To The DAILY WORKER.)

WILKES-BARRE, May 25.—At least seven miners were instantly killed and a number of others injured are not expected to live as a result of an explosion in the Cunningham contractor-operated mines of the Hudson Coal Company here today.

Ambulances were rushed to the mine and removed the injured to the Wilkes-Barre general hospital.

Union officials of the treacherous Lewis-Cappellini machine in District 1 are held equally responsible with the operators for the deaths inasmuch as these officials have refused to fight against the vicious contractor and speed-up system. This among other practices have been shown to have caused accidents which have taken nearly three hundred miners' lives in the last month.

BANQUET FOR ICOR HOLD TAG DAYS,

Aid Jewish Colonies in
U. S. S. R.

Hundreds of workers will collect funds on the streets of New York today and tomorrow, when "Icor" Tag Days will be held for the benefit of the Jewish Colonization Society in Soviet Russia. Volunteer stations have been established throughout the city. The "Icor" is aiding in the establishment of an autonomous Jewish Soviet Republic in Biro Bidjan on the Amur River in Siberia.

A banquet will be held tonight at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St.

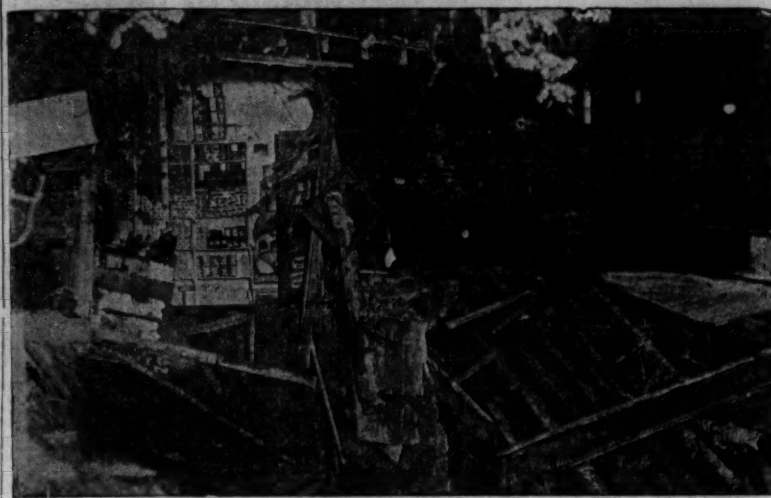
The Kenosha Trades and Labor Assembly has vigorously denounced the use of the police as a strikebreaking agency in behalf of the Allen A. Hosiery Company.

THE FORD BELT KEPT MOVING FASTER

Automobile Bosses Invent Sly Ways of Intensifying Speedup

By ROBERT W. DUNN,
(Federated Press).
DETROIT, May 25.—Speed-up of man and machine rules the Detroit automobile industry, piling up workers on the job market in long queues of the unemployed, even in the busiest seasons.

Where Faulty Subway Construction Wrecked a Grocery Store



A grocery store at 746 St. Nicholas Ave. crashed into a subway excavation near the foundation of the building. The faulty construction had been dug too close to the store. The picture shows the wreckage after the collapse and part of the store left standing. On many construction jobs, the contractors speed-up the workers so that proper buttressing of the excavation is neglected.

MILL PICKETS DEFY POLICEMEN

Jeer Order To Stop
Strike Song

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., May 25.—Despite a menacing squad of over 25 police centered around the gates of the Nonquit, Page and Hathaway Mills, more than 600 striking textile workers conducted one of the most enthusiastic picketing demonstrations yet held since the 30,000 textile workers here went out on strike against a wage cut of 10 per cent, which resulted in the complete shutdown of 58 factories.

Three automobile loads of overseers, petty foremen, and other straw bosses continuing to work during the strike were jeered and hooted by the assembled workers in spite of continual threats of immediate arrest. This is the spirit manifest after 2 women strikers were sentenced to 6 months each in jail.

Defy Police.

The police were also openly defied by the strikers when they ordered a halt to the singing of strike songs. After the captain's orders the singing

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TRY GAS BOMB ON JAILED STRIKERS

Workers in Cells Used
for Police Experiment

KENOSHA, Wis., May 25.—Kenosha police exhibited a hitherto unheard of cruelty when union hosiery workers, locked up in cells under charges of shouting at scabs, were made the targets for police tear gas bombs. Helplessly exposed, without warning and without a chance to get out of range of the poisons, 11 unionists were bombarded with tear gas as part of a so-called police "experiment."

The burning sensations and acute pain in their eyes, nostrils and throats persisted for many hours causing them to shed involuntary tears even the next day in court. Police smilingly pronounced the experiments as satisfactory.

Protests by the whole population are gathering strength, particularly as the victims were held over night on charges that were later thrown out of court, while a strikebreaker arrested by a deputy sheriff for firing at pickets was released by the station police without booking.

The Kenosha Trades and Labor Assembly has vigorously denounced the use of the police as a strikebreaking agency in behalf of the Allen A. Hosiery Company.

Speakers at Workers Party Convention

Jay Lovestone is General Secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party. William Z. Foster is a member of the Secretariat of the Party and Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League. He will probably be selected as the Party's presidential candidate.

Bertram D. Wolfe is national agit-prop director of the Party and a member of the Political Committee.

Ben Gitlow, member of the Secretariat, will probably be the Party's vice presidential choice.

B. H. Laurendeau is a delegate from Texas active among the workers and farmers.

Scott Nearing, well known author and lecturer, will run for governor of New Jersey on the Party ticket.

Charles E. Taylor is a state senator in Montana.

Ben Glot is leader of the militant Furriers' Union.

James P. Cannon is a member of the Political Bureau of the Party and national secretary of International Labor Defense.

Lovett Fort-Whiteman is one of the organizers of the American Negro Labor Congress.

William W. Weinstein is organizer of District 2, New York.

Anita C. Whitney, a delegate from California, was one of the victims of the California criminal syndicalism law. Mass protest resulted in a pardon for her.

Juliet Stuart Poyntz is head of the women's work in the Workers (Communist) Party.

BRIDGE WORKERS OUT ON STRIKE

Strikebreakers Sent to
Smash Walkout

One hundred and fifty concrete workers and skilled men are out on strike in the huge bridge construction now almost completed in Staten Island, to connect New Jersey with New York. The workers, who quit work on Thursday, demand an increase in wages of 20 cents per hour.

Strikebreakers were sent to take their places yesterday by Ike Silverman, the notorious strikebreaker, who broke the Union Gas Company strike, the Bush Terminal strike and many others, several years ago.

BROWNSVILLE LEAGUE HIKE

The Brownsville section of the Young Workers (Communist) League will hold a hike to Tibbetts Brook Park, Westchester County, tomorrow.

20,000 OUT OF WORK IN HOUSTON

Laurence of Texas Here
for Convention

Harry J. Laurence, delegate from Houston, Texas, to the Workers (Communist) Party Nominating Convention arrived in New York yesterday. In a statement given to THE DAILY WORKER, he said that the labor conditions in Houston are of the "very worst."

"In February," he said, "the City Council published a report that there were 18,000 unemployed workers in Houston. This, in all probability, means that there were several thousand more. The Longshoremen's Union, which is the biggest labor organization in the city, is controlled by the bosses. In order to enter it, a white man must pay something over \$40 and a Negro over \$80. This is a rather clear indication of the general situation in Houston."

NEGROES OBSERVE HAYWOOD'S DEATH

Memorial Planned Here
For June 1

Many Negro workers are planning to attend the huge memorial meeting in the Central Opera House, 67th St. and Third Ave., Friday night, June 1, in honor of William D. Haywood, Communist and pioneer enemy of Jim Crow tactics in the labor movement.

When Haywood first started to organize American workers, even many I. W. W. representatives segregated Negro workers from the whites in the South, comrades who were closely associated with Haywood recall.

One such case was the huge lumber strike in St. Charles, La. "Big Bill" came to address the workers and found they had assembled in two halls, one right above the other, the blacks in one and the whites in the other.

"What's this for? Put 'em together," thundered "Big Bill."

"But it's never been done in the South," gasped the local organizers.

"Then it's time it was," said Haywood, and he did not speak until all the workers, whom he called "comrades," were seated together before him. From that time on Negro workers by the thousands rallied to Haywood's call.

Haywood's friendship with Negro workers dated back to his youth when he slaved in the mines of Nevada, Utah and Idaho, swinging his pick side by side with Negro miners. One of his regrets about being exiled from the United States was that he could not help organize the Negro workers along with the whites.

The memorial meeting is being held under the auspices of the New York district of the Workers (Communist) Party. Haywood, who died recently in Moscow, will be buried at the wall of the Kremlin.

The district committee of the Young Workers (Communist) League has decided to call off the League anniversary mass meeting, June 1, in order to make it possible for all workers to attend the Haywood memorial.

CLASS STRUGGLE EMPHASIZED AT BIG PARTY MEET

Great Enthusiasm At
Demonstration

Militant class struggle was the keynote struck at the opening of the National Nominating Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party last night when almost four thousand workers crowded into Mecca Temple, 133 West 55th St., to greet more than 250 delegates from all sections of the country and representing virtually every industry.

The convention marked the opening of the election struggle which the Workers (Communist) Party will carry on against the capitalist parties and the socialist party reformists.

Fight Bureaucracy.

The necessity of the struggle against capitalism and labor bureaucracy and reformism was sounded by Jay Lovestone, general secretary of the Party, who acted as chairman and William Z. Foster, member of the secretariat and secretary of the Trade Union Educational League.

Delegates from the mine field, the textile mills and other basic industries, farmers from the west and south—all emphasized the tremendous

The central committee of the Workers (Communist) Party has adopted a draft platform which is proposed to the convention. The text of this platform appears on pages four, five, six and seven of this edition of the Daily Worker.

tasks now facing the workers and farmers throughout the United States.

The struggle against the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and the class collaboration schemes of the bosses, the socialist party which has openly allied itself with the enemies of the workers, the struggle against American imperialism in Nicaragua and China, the defense of the Soviet Union—these were among the major forces with which the American workers and farmers must contend, the speakers pointed out.

Activity Urged

Against the setting of red baiting and revolutionary banners and emblems, the delegates stressed the necessity of increasing political activity in the coming election campaign.

Long before the convention was officially opened the large auditorium of Mecca Temple was crowded to overflowing. Thousands of workers from this city as well as from Philadelphia

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GREET WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN

Communists in France,
Germany, Hail Meet

Greeting the National Nominating Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party which opened here with a mass demonstration at Mecca Temple last night, the German Communist Party, which made big gains in the German elections, has sent the following endorsement to the convention:

"Following its victory, the German Communist Party sends its fraternal greetings to the Workers (Communist) Party and expects that the American Communists will put up as gallant a fight against our common class enemy in the coming election campaign, as have the Communist Parties of Poland, France and Germany in their recent elections.

"Bear in mind that we are a single united front of the workingclass and that no ocean or frontiers can separate us. Your success will fill the world proletariat with joy and hopes for greater action on your part. Your victory is our victory and every success won brings us nearer our goal.

"Your slogan must be, 'Class' (Continued on Page Two)

10 Volunteer Painters Needed at Red Center

At least ten volunteer painters are wanted to paint the new business office of THE DAILY WORKER at the Workers Center, 26-28 Union Square, tomorrow and Sunday. Ask for Ameron.

American Engineer Involved in Sabotage Conspiracy to Wreck Donetz Mines

WORKERS TESTIFY ENGINEERS AIDED WHITE GUARDISTS

Technician Admits He Receives Bribes

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., May 25.—The trial of the conspirators in the Don sabotage plot proceeded yesterday with the examination of Samoilov, who described the hostility of the engineers to the Soviet Government.

Foreign engineers, Greiling, an Englishman, Koester, a German, and Murphy, an American, nourished a hostile spirit among the engineers, it was revealed.

Samoilov testified further that the former mine-owners were kept informed about the activity of every engineer. He referred to a mine which saboteurs blew up.

Often Struck Workers. Witnesses among the Donetz workers, then examined later, testified that Beresovsky, Samoilov and Kolodub, who had exploited workers before the revolution, had often struck workers and had neglected the security measures which might have prevented accidents.

During the occupation of the Don Basin by the counter-revolutionists, the engineers gave the White Guards a list of Communist workers who were then executed.

Babenko, a renegade of peasant extraction, also a technician was then examined. He admitted that he had participated in the sabotage plot and that he had personally received 15,000 roubles for flooding mines. Donetz workers who were then examined testified that before the revolution Babenko, Kolodub and other were hostile to the workers. Babenko, they charged, abused and even beat workers, while Kolodub denounced workers to the czarist police and caused their arrest.

Brutality Charged. The evidence of the two old Donetz miners which made a deep impression charged Babenko with brutality to workers before and after the revolution. They charged that he had flooded the mine of Novosovsk.

Paced with this testimony Babenko was compelled to admit his guilt. Another worker, Limarov, who as a Red Guard had been taken prisoner by the White terrorists and forced to work in the mines, declared that Babenko had treated the workers brutally and had threatened to have workers shot by the White Guards.

FLOOD THREATENS FLEEING WORKERS

Collapse of Utah Dam is Expected Momentarily

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, May 23.—A repetition of the St. Francis dam break resulting in the death of over 400 is feared here. More than 3,000 men, women and children of three central Utah towns were encamped on mountain side here today as water rushed thru a break in the tip of the sixty-foot Pleasant Valley Dam, near Castlegate, threatening collapse of the structure.

A force of five hundred men worked throughout the night plugging the leaks and bolstering the dam with sand bags, cement and earth with the result that the eroding effect of the accumulated material was checked.

The breakdown of the St. Francis Dam resulted from faulty construction approved by corrupt officials, it has been revealed.

Britains Love the Queen But Need the Cash

LOVE for the British Empire on the part of Englishmen living in the United States is apparently extremely low. Yesterday was "Empire Day," observed throughout England and all its colonial "possessions" on the anniversary of the birth of the portly Queen Victoria, and plans had been completed for the annual Empire Day dinner, scheduled for Thursday night at the Waldorf. Speakers were to include Sir Esme Howard, British ambassador and other monarchical celebrities.

"Lack of interest," however, prompted the sponsors of the celebration to call the dinner off, it has just been learned. For when the anxious Britons took inventory they found to their great chagrin that only 103 out of more than 5,000 accepted the invitation to honor the dead queen.

MISSOURI FEDERATION MEETS. ST. LOUIS, May 25.—The 32nd annual convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor will open at Springfield Monday.

MINE OFFICIAL IS LEADER OF ARMED SCABS AGAINST STRIKERS

(Special to the Daily Worker)

NEW LEXINGTON, Ohio, May 25.

Skulls were cracked and shots fired when 5 scabs under the direction of their superintendent attacked a picket line of striking miners who marched on the Mid-Hocking mine of the Sunday Creek Coal Company near here, Wednesday. A 14-year-old boy, son of a striker who joined his father

on the picket line was the most seriously injured, according to a report of the affair relayed to the National Miners' Relief Committee.

Charges of shooting to kill have been filed against Louis Powell, mine superintendent, who is said to have produced a shot gun and fired on the pickets when they approached the group of scabs who were about to enter the mine. Powell was disarmed by the strikers. The charges against him are filed by Ed Jones, Paschal Jones, John Gail and Pearl Brown.

Joe Reynolds, Powell's assistant, faces charges of assault and battery. He attacked several strikers without provocation after the superintendent had ordered the charge on the picket line.

Overwhelmed when the union miners turned on them, the attacking scabs summoned Sheriff McNabb and several deputies who beat back the strikers though he failed to make any arrests.

The miners of Hocking Valley continue their fight to save their union against tremendous odds. Oral Daugherty, former sub-district official who was expelled from the mine workers union when he advised the strikers to go back to work for whatever they could get, is attempting to smash the union by advocating a separate union of Ohio coal diggers.

Starvation Stalks Land. Scarcity of food is creating the appearance of extreme famine in many coal digging communities on strike in

the Hocking Valley. Bread is at a premium. Milk, even for infants, is a luxury no longer thought of by mothers. Coffee, canned milk at best, but usually not milk at all, and a little bread is the daily ration of children who are hardly old enough to walk. Undenourishment has sapped the vitality of many towns to the point where only an insuperable fighting spirit keeps mass picket lines going daily. Only relief sent by the National Miners' Relief Committee is keeping these miners alive.

MASSES CHEER 4

AUTONOMISTS AT COLMAR TRIAL

Hundreds Burst Into Court Room

PARIS, May 25.—Violent scenes followed the sentencing of four of the Alsatian autonomists on trial at Colmar when thousands of men and women, who been massed around the court house four hours in expectation, burst into the court room to shake the hands of the convicted men. Court guards and police attempted to break up the spontaneous demonstration and blows ensued.

The four convicted men are Dr. Georges E. Ricklin, the reputed director of the autonomist movement, Paul J. Schall, former editor of the Zukunft, an autonomist paper, Joseph V. Rosse and Joseph Faschauer.

"I implore you, Ricklin do not judge France by this verdict," some one cried over the heads of the throng.

Andre Berthoin, Communist deputy, sprang to the window of the court house and urged the masses to drape their houses in black as a protest against the "iniquitous verdict."

NOMINATING MEET IS OPENED HERE

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delphia, Baltimore, and Boston plan to attend all the sessions of the convention.

The program of the Hungarian Workers' Symphony Orchestra, consisting of 50 pieces, was received with tremendous enthusiasm.

In addition to Lovestone and Foster, the speakers were Ben Gitlow, member of the Secretariat of the party; B. H. Lauderdale, of Texas; Senator Charles E. Taylor, of Montana; James P. Cannon, Scott Nearing, Anita C. Whitney, William F. Patton, Lovett Fort-Whiteman, W. W. Weinstein, Tom Rushton, Stanley Clark and Scott Wilkins.

Immediately after the conclusion of the convention a "Red Welcome Fest" will be held tonight in honor of the delegates. The affair, which has been arranged by the Party members of District 2, will be held at 8 o'clock at the new Workers Center, 26-28 Union Square.

The sessions of the convention will be continued at Central Opera House, 67th St. and Third Ave., today and Sunday.

Making the World Safe For Democracy

"The marines are stationed in various navy yards and posts in the United States, and also in Haiti, Nicaragua and China. The location of the above units is in accordance with the government policy."

This was the reply of Allen C. Farquhar, of the navy, to a recent request for information concerning the location of American marines. Further details given by Farquhar were: 25 ships of various sorts and submarines in Cuba and nearly a dozen in different parts of China. One of these navy units is 1,100 miles up the Yangtze River.

Victim of Tenement Fire and Rescuer



Victim of a fire-trap tenement at 261 McDougal St., Helen Monghan is in the hospital today recovering from burns. She is shown here with the fireman who rescued her. He formed part of a human chain, risking his life in the swing to the window where the trapped woman stood.

GREED OF COAL BARONS CAUSES MINE MISHAPS

Speedup Renders Safety Devices Useless

By LELAND OLDS, (Fed Press). The probable death of more than 190 coal miners in the explosion at the non-union Mather mine near Waynesburg, Pa., emphasizes the criminal folly of leaving safety precautions to the mercy of profiteering owners. Only when the miners' union has a voice in every mine in the country will the hazards be reduced to the minimum.

Inadequate Dusting. The U. S. Bureau of Mines reports that although 463 mines operated by 239 coal companies were being rockdusted in 1927 it is improbable that even 50 of these mines were adequately rockdusted. Few of the mines were found employing adequate measures to ascertain whether their rockdusting would prevent or limit explosions.

In all coal mines not decidedly wet, says the bureau, "all open accessible parts should be kept rockdusted to such an extent that any dust to be found on ribs, roof, floor or timbers will have an incombustible content of 65 per cent or over. There should be a systematic periodical sampling of dust from mine surfaces with prompt determination of the incombustible content and with subsequent reducing where analytical work indicates incombustible below 65 per cent. In general surfaces should be sampled at least monthly, but sampling should be done more frequently where there is reason to suspect high combustibility."

"Rockdusting to be effective," says the bureau, "must be made an integral part of everyday mining operations; this means that mining companies must rockdust in essentially the same manner that they timber, blast, ventilate and haul. Where rockdusting becomes daily routine work its cost will be nominal and seldom should exceed 1 per cent per ton of coal produced. Until rockdusting becomes a part of routine daily coal mine operation, it will remain more or less ineffective and the coal mines will continue to be subject to widespread explosions."

No Safety Measures.

One cent a ton to protect coal miners against such tragedies as that which just snuffed out 190 lives at Mather, Pa. And yet the profiteering operators fail to carry out safety measures worked out years ago in the experimental mine of the government bureau. According to the bureau's report rockdusting has been extended to mines employing 109,000 underground workers or only about 21 per cent of the U. S. total. These mines produce about 24 per cent of the country's bituminous output.

Early evidence suggests that the Mather explosion was caused by sparks from an electric cable whose insulation had been severed by a cutting machine used in modern machine mining. If so the tragedy was closely connected with the speeding up of production in this non-union mine. The sparks ignited coal dust insufficiently mixed with the incombustible rock dust which would otherwise have rendered the subsequent explosion unlikely.

Father, Daughter, Victims Of "Prosperity"



The picture shows Edward Cromwell, of Bridgeport, Conn., recently released from the jail where his wife had him placed when he insisted on having more children. They had had 13, nine of whom had died. Cromwell's wages never exceeded \$30 a week when he could find work which was not often. The children who lived are employed folding elastic for which they make fifty cents a gross. The eldest girl is shown at the right.

DEATH HOLDS STAKES IN GAME WITH MINERS

By ED FALKOWSKI (Federated Press).

SHENANDOAH, Pa., May 25.—Death seems to compete with the coal companies for increased output in the anthracite. It may come as the climax to an explosion, or simply in the pathetic and miserable form of crushing a man to death in some tight corner.

MARINE TERROR IN NICARAGUA

Tortured Civilians, Says Correspondent

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body was found shortly afterwards. "In January John Bolton, an American, was murdered near Bluefields. The marines brought in seven natives who were alleged to have confessed. Before a judge, one man, Escobar, said the confession was extracted from him by torture. The proceedings were immediately interrupted and the prisoners were marched back to the barracks. Escobar refused to reenter his cell, made a dash for the gate and was shot and killed. Later it was proved that he had nothing to do with the murder."

"In another instance a religious festival was taking place in an Indian village north of Bluefields. Many of the Indians were drunk and marines appeared to restore order. They turned on a machine gun, killing four and wounding five. The Nicaraguan military commander on refusing to sign the marines' report was brought to Bluefields and ill-treated until he consented to sign a dictated statement."

Workers Aid Sandino. Virtually every Nicaraguan worker and peasant is a Sandino sympathizer, the article says. In spite of the terrorist methods employed by the marines, the writer declares that the Sandino nationalists can hold out almost indefinitely.

Day after day with heart-sickening regularity ambulance bells clang as some fellow is being hauled home from the colliery. Women grow hysterical, fearing it may stop at their home. As it passes, their tears dry and they resign themselves to the tragic recurrence of death. "It's just a part of life," they whisper, as they shrug their shoulders and put pepper in the soup for the men.

Night Bladder
Weakness or
Kidney Pains
of the Aged
Relieved promptly
with genuine
Santal Midy
Effective-Harmless

FREE 'DAILY' SUBS NEEDED BY MINERS

400 Join Workers Party In Six Weeks

The striking miners in the Pittsburgh district are "strong" for The DAILY WORKER. This is the gist of the report of John Casper, DAILY WORKER agent in District 5 to the business office of the Daily. Casper arrived in New York yesterday to attend the National Nominating Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party.

"Hundreds of striking miners have come to me and told me how much The DAILY WORKER means to them," Casper said. "Most of them had never read the Daily before and were eager to get it regularly. But they had no money to subscribe. 'As soon as this strike is over, we'll subscribe to The DAILY WORKER out of our first pay,' many of them told me. 'It's the best paper in the world.'"

"During the past six weeks more than 400 of these miners have joined the Workers Party. Every one of them needs The DAILY WORKER every day. If the readers of the Daily only realized this, I'm sure that many more would provide these striking coal diggers with free subscriptions."

Workers, the miners are fighting for all of us. Help their fight with a free sub. Send it in at once to the office of The DAILY WORKER, 33 First St., New York City.

SPEED-UP GROWS IN FORD PLANT

(Continued from page one)

cent of the men have been laid off. And in the hood painting department of the same plant they used to turn out 16 jobs a day. Now 28 are required. And of course several men were fired."

At the Ford plants, most famous for their race track speed, the soldering department has increased production from 35 to 80 pieces per hour in one year. At one of the Fisher Body plants where they used to make 150 to 160 bodies a day, they now finish from 235 to 240 with the same number of men on the job. At the Hudson plant they more than doubled the output for the same number of men in one year, at the same time reducing the wage an average of 10 cents an hour.

The worker is of course not permitted to organize to stop this increasing application of speed-up.

IF the worker cannot keep up with the pace, he is "recommended for a transfer," writes a Detroit worker. This means that he is sent to another department "where he ordinarily cannot last a week."

Some workers contend that the bosses are really unnecessary, except to check on quality or performance. Said one, "The machine I'm on goes at such a terrific speed that I can't help stepping on it in order to keep up with it. The machine is my boss." And the new machine may be the boss that fires him from the job altogether.

Frat Boys Get Spanking for Going to Dance

Because they violated a rule of the college in attending a dance, 37 "young men students" of Upsala College were indefinitely suspended last Tuesday, it became known today. Three others, theological students, were let off with severe reprimands and told that they would have no more ice cream for the remainder of the semester. All the suspended students were members of a students' organization called the Improved Order of Exalted Ulialae.

The dance was held in the Hotel Montclair, Montclair, N. J., and was given by the female progenitor of one of the naughty students. When interviewed by reporters, the sobbing mother said that the college was "doing my son wrong" and that "none of the poor children deserved such cruel punishment."

Upsala College is a coeducational institution maintained by the New York and New England Conference of Evangelical Augustana Synod. The no-dancing rule was put into effect a year ago.

HAIL WORKERS PARTY SUCCESS

French Communists Greet Convention

(Continued from page one)

against class." Fight against the oppression and exploitation of the whole world, especially on the American front at this time.

"The eyes of the international proletariat are upon you, the hearts of workers everywhere are with you. Forward, bravely!"

The following message, greeting the Workers (Communist) Party Convention has been received from the French Communist Party.

"On the eve of the presidential elections, the French Communist Party sends fraternal greetings to the American workingclass and its vanguard, the Workers (Communist) Party. The French Communist Party hopes that the masses of American workers will rally under the banner of the Comintern borne by the Workers (Communist) Party."

"To the American workers the presidential election ought to be only an episode in the struggle against the imperialist plutocrats and their agents, the reformists in the labor movement. It should be one means of rallying the revolutionary proletarian forces for direct American capitalists, a battle in which the heroic Pennsylvania miners are taking such a splendid lead."

"Long live the Workers (Communist) Party! Long live the proletarian struggle of the American workers against imperialism and the reformist traitors! Long live the Communist International!"

150 Answers One Ad

MINNEAPOLIS, May 25.—The Minneapolis Journal boasted recently that one of its ads was answered by 150 girls in a single day. One hundred and forty-nine of these job-hunters were turned down by the Sheltering Arms, a charitable institution.

Jamboree and Carnival

Saturday, June 9th

at STARLIGHT PARK

EAST 177th ST., BRONX

Baseball Mass Calisthenics
Soccer Games Track and Field Events
Swimming Exhibition

All proletarian sport clubs of New York will participate.

Dances given by the children of the Nonpartisan Workers' Schools.

Arranged by the Joint Defense

Cloakmakers & Furriers

Ticket 50c. Including dancing and admission to games.

UNITY CAMP Opens Saturday, May 26th

Two busses are leaving Saturday, May 26th at 1:30 P. M. from Unity Center, 1800—7th Ave.

CHILDREN'S COLONY
in Unity Camp
For workers' children from 5 to 9 years.

Registration Now Open.

DIRECTIONS: Busses leave Friday—6:30 P. M. Saturday—1:30 P. M. from 110th Street and 7th Avenue direct to the camp. By train from Grand Central Station or from 125th St. to Windale and from there take our automobile to the camp.

For registration come to our main office

1800—7th AVE. Corner 110th St.

TELEPHONE, MONUMENT 0111.

CAMP TELEPHONE, WINGDALE 12-F-10.

STEEL MEN SLAVE 13 HOURS A DAY

Negroes Speeded Until
They Sweat in Cold

(Continued from page one)
and steady the whole day loading box
cars, doing two men's work and get-
ting two cents extra an hour.

37 Cents An Hour.
The standard pay of laborers is
thirty-seven cents an hour, work ten
hours and 99 days out of a 100, the
foreman will come around and say,
want to make some money for your-
self. Work two hours overtime which
is straight hourly rate. Extra pay for
extra time is bygone history in Beth-
lehem. Such irony. The poor Negro
workers who have the worst danger-
ous, unhealthy jobs in the mill and
live under the most terrible condi-
tions get ready to go to work at 5
a. m. and probably return home about
3 or 8.30 p. m. Their pay is \$22.50,
if they work a full day week.
Most of them work seven days bring-
ing their pay up to about \$25.

Shylock had nothing on Bethlehem
when he wanted a man to forfeit a
pound of flesh for payment of six
thousand ducats. Bethlehem demands
from every worker, every day in the
year not only his flesh and blood but
also demands every drop of energy
in payment for three dollars and
seventy cents to possibly five and a
half dollars. Quitting two minutes
before the time subjects a worker to
dismissal and probable blacklisting in
every department. The superintendent
has a circular letter posted on
bulletin boards to the effect that men
are warned about knocking off before
whistle, laying special emphasis on
the fact that men are paid from
whistle to whistle.

The steel worker has not only in-
human working conditions to contend
with, such as speed-up, extremely low
pay, wet and cold working places,
smoky, unhealthy and etc., but must
also contend with the greed of the
bosses. The bosses would much rather
make a cheap grade of iron in the
open hearth and have the men in the
tin mill, sheet mill and other depart-
ments work on the iron and having
half of it come out scrap for which
the worker never gets paid for. The
boss works out a lot of scrap this way
at the expense of the workers' time
and trouble. Such things as under-
paid mechanics to fix broken down
machines cause loss of pay to work-
ers who are working piece-work and
have no comeback when they only
make one or two dollars a day as a
result of broken-down machine. At
the beginning of the week, on warm-
ing up turn on the furnaces, the work-
ers can only produce about half pro-
duction, but nevertheless, putting in
full time does not entitle them to the
average pay as they work piece-work.

Stool-pigeons.
Injustices abound right and left,
above and below for the workers, and
especially those that dare to rebel
against the scheme of things. There
are plenty of police assigned to each
department, as if in preparedness for
an outbreak of workers. There many
low duties such as keeping a watch
on early quitters, loafing, and snoop-
ing around toilets. Steel mills have
plenty of stool-pigeons and here in
Sparrows Point, as a result of a small
strike in 1919, has left a group of
privileged scab jobholders and special
concession holders on the Point. The
company-controlled magistrate plays
special cain with the workers and
the pay of many a worker has been
handed over by the company to the
company court.

The workers of Bethlehem are in
despair as a result of the different
wage cuts ranging from 5 to 40%
have been imposed on them in the
past three months. The cuts in wages
on the already underpaid workers was
like putting salt on a flesh wound.
Bread has been taken off their table
and placed on the tables of those who
have too many diamonds and throw
away plenty of cake.

We workers of the Bethlehem Steel

Putting Across the Word of "God"



Notables of Holy Mother Church met recently to consider ways and means for getting a little more punch into the word of "god." Prominent journalists in the picture are, from left to right, cardinal Hayes, Simon Baldus, Edward S. Dore, and Charles S. Riddler, of the Catholic News.

Workers Party Activities

Accommodations Wanted.

Accommodations are wanted for
delegates to the National Nominating
Convention. Please notify the Dis-
trict Office at 108 E. 14th St., giving
name, address and also the sex of the
delegate to be accommodated.

Subsection 3E.
Subsection 3E will hold an educa-
tional meeting at 101 West 27th St.,
at 6:15 p. m. on Tuesday, May 29. The
subject will be "The Election Cam-
paign." Comrade Wilkes will lead the
discussion.

The Subsection Election Campaign
Committee will meet Monday, May 28,
at 6:15 p. m. at 101 W. 27th St.

The Subsection 3E Hiking Commit-
tee will meet Monday, May 28, at 6:15
p. m. at 101 W. 27th St.

Runkel's Workers Meetings.

A special meeting of members of the
Organization Committee of the work-
ers of the Runkel's chocolate factory
will be held today at 8 p. m. It is
absolutely necessary that every mem-
ber be present as very important mat-
ters must be decided.

International Branch, Section 1D.
International Branch, Section 1D
meets Wednesday, May 30, at 60 St.
Marks Place at 7:30 p. m.

Subsection 3C Meet.

A special subsection executive meet-
ing of SS 3C will be held Wednesday
at 101 W. 27th St. at 8 p. m.

CLOAK WORKERS CHOOSE DELEGATES

(Continued from Page One)

from the leaders of that group. This
meeting, called especially for the re-
gistered workers, is to hear the reas-
ons for the groups' affiliation with
the National Organizing Committee.

PHILADELPHIA, May 25.—Discus-
sion by the membership of the ac-
complishments of the fake convention
in Boston was prevented by Sigman's
vice-president, Reisberg, at a meet-
ing of Local 5 here several days ago.

After Reisberg's report was de-
livered, the membership demanded
discussion. This was immediately met
by Reisberg's announcement that he
would not allow a discussion from the
floor, in spite of the protests of the
entire attendance. Reisberg's report
consisted of statements that the fake
convention had created 2 more vice-
presidents and emphasizing the im-
portance of the membership's paying
the 3 day tax also decided upon there.

need a strong working class party
that will fight for us against the few
privileged class who hold us in slav-
ery and impose on us hunger, want,
ignorance, wars and hatred merely to
satisfy their own ends and disregard
the welfare of the millions of work-
ers. We workers of Bethlehem Steel
realize that the bosses can only do
these things when they have control
of the political machinery.

We want a working class ballot to
represent labor.

BETHELEHEM STEEL WORKER.

Tel. Lehigh 6022.

DR. ABRAHAM MARKOFF

SURGEON DENTIST
Office Hours: 9:30-12 A. M. 2-4 P. M.
Daily Except Friday and Sunday.
240 EAST 115th STREET
Cor. Second Ave. New York.

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Dr. J. C. HOFFER
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Brooklyn, N. Y.
Proletarian prices for proletarians.

Phone Stuyvesant 2816

John's Restaurant
SPECIALTY: ITALIAN DISHES
A place with atmosphere
where all radicals meet.
302 E. 12th St. New York.

Health Food

Vegetarian Restaurant
1600 Madison Ave.
PHONE: UNIVERSITY 5445.

All Comrades Meet at

BRONSTEIN'S
VEGETARIAN HEALTH
RESTAURANT
558 Claremont Pkway Bronx.

AMALGAMATED

FOOD WORKERS
Bakers' Loc. No. 104
Meets 1st Saturday
in the month at
1400 Third Avenue,
Bronx, N. Y.
Ask for
Union Label Brand.

Advertise your union meetings

here. For information write to
The DAILY WORKER
Advertising Dept.
43 First St., New York City.

MILL PICKETS DEFY POLICEMEN

Refuse To Stop Singing
Strike Song

(Continued from page one)

While picketing led by Fred E.
Beal, organizer for the Textile Mill
Committees was going on, relief
cards were handed out, which the
workers later exchanged for pro-
visions supplied by the Workers' In-
ternational Relief.

A delegation of Harvard students,
members of the Harvard Liberal
Club, arrived here several days ago
to study the strike situation, and are
reported to have been declared that
they were definitely aligning them-
selves with the Textile Mills Com-
mittee, favoring their policies in con-
ducting a strike to that of the bureau-
crats in control of the Textile Council.
They also participated in the picket-
ing.

Police Close Hall.

The Police Department has again
ordered the closing of the Northern
Hall of the T. M. C. Their previous
attempts to deprive the Mills Com-
mittee of headquarters failed when a
public hall permit was secured. The
new attempt is made on the same
hypocritical charges. The Interna-
tional Labor Defense, who volunteered
all legal and defense work for the
strikers, announced that they will
fight to obtain a permit. Failing this,
a new hall in the north end will be
secured.

Workers Theatre To Meet During Summer

During the summer the Workers
Theatre will meet every Monday at
8:30 p. m. at 23 E. 14th St., top
floor front.

The summer work includes a chorus
for the singing of American worker
songs, to be directed by Charles Bur-
roughs, and a workers' ballet, inter-
pretive of the life of the worker in
this machine age. Both groups meet
the same night.

All who are interested are welcome.
The work begins this Monday, May
28, at 8:30 p. m.

Exploiter is Fined

GLOVE, Ariz., May 25.—The man-
ager of the local Woolworth 5 and 10
cent store has been fined \$25 for
working the girls in his state over-
time, in violation of the state women's
eight-hour law.

LARGE ROOM, nicely furnished;
all privileges. Good for couple.
Address: Ossipoff, 118 West 120th
St. Telephone University 8226.

"For Any Kind of Insurance"

CARL BRODSKY
7 E. 42d St. New York City
Telephone Murray Hill 5550.

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of
CHAS. RECHT
For the convenience of workers open
anti 8 P. M. and all day Saturday.
110 WEST 40th ST. Room 1604.
Phone: PENN 4060-4061-4076.

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MARY WOLFE
STUDENT OF THE DAMROSCH
CONSERVATORY
PIANO LESSONS
Moved to
2420 BRONX PARK EAST
Near Co-operative Colony. Apt. 5H.
Telephone ESTABROOK 2459.
Special rates to students from the
Co-operative House.

Workers Co-operative
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Now Open
Workers Book Shop
Temporary Headquarters:
26-28 UNION SQUARE
1 Flight Up
Books, Pamphlets, Magazines, on all subjects.
OPEN DAILY UNTIL 9 P. M.

Meat Your Friends
at
GOTTLIEB'S
Avenue
Dairy Restaurant
21 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK.
Phone: Dry Dock 4850.

All Comrades and Friends Meet at
GEORGE'S
LITTLE HUNGARIAN
DELICATESSEN STORE
1552 First Avenue, New York

Cooperators, Workers
M. SUROFF
invites you to visit
the store of
MEN'S, LADIES'
and BOYS'
Pants,
Sport Knickers,
Sweaters,
Socks and Belts
at
735 Allerton Avenue
Bronx.
Prices reasonable.
Pants to order to
match coats.

No Tip—Union Barber Shop
77 FIFTH AVE.
Bet. 15th and 16th Streets
NEW YORK CITY
Individual Sanitary Service by Ex-
perts.—LADIES' HAIR DRESSING
SPECIALISTS.
Patronize a Comradely Barber Shop.

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INTERESTING CHANGES IN JUNE NEW MASSES

A new New Masses has appeared to wage its lone cultural fight against
the bourgeoisie. The June issue, which has just come out, is the first
since the April number.

The month of April produced a crop
of rumors to the effect that the New
Masses had gone under. These rum-
ors are best contradicted by the
June number which shows that the
New Masses is more alive than ever.
But it is not the same New Masses.
Many changes have occurred. Eg-
mont Arens has resigned as editor
and Michael Gold, one of the most
popular working class writers in the
country, is now at the helm. The
magazine is different in appearance
and make-up—a change towards
greater vividness.

Change of Policy.

There is also a change in the edi-
torial policy. A statement of policy
issued by Gold declares:
"The magazine is to be more proletarian.
We are going to dig up new
worker-writers—also get unedited ac-
counts of work by workers—a kind
of sublimated workers' correspon-
dence."

"The magazine is to print almost
no political articles. It will be, of
course, definitely workingclass and
revolutionary in its political loyalty,
but will not attempt to discuss tac-
tics, etc."

"The New Masses can live only as
the organ of the human and artistic
revolt of the workers."

New Writers.

In support of this policy the cur-
rent New Masses contains an entire
page of poems by Martin Ruskak, a
Paterson silk weaver, which has never
been published before, poetry by two
other young writers, Edwin Rolfe
and Herman Spector, a contribution
from an inmate of a poorhouse and in-
teresting letters from workers. Other
contributors are John Dos Passos,
Ezra Pound, Michael Gold, Dudley
Nichols and Kenneth Fearing. The
cover design is by Hugo Gellert.

And most important of all: the new
New Masses is 15 cents instead of 25
—a great difference to the workers
for whom it is intended.

CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

The population of California on
June 30, 1927, was estimated at 5,398,
457 by State Controller Ray L. Riley.
This is an increase of 151,728 over
1926. Los Angeles leads the cities with
1,325,069.

WANTED—Girl comrade to share
3-room modern apartment fur-
nished. Call mornings, evenings:
Lehigh 0626.

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PARTY SECTIONS IN BANNER RACE

\$30,000 Needed by June
2nd for New Center

Sections 1 and 5 of the Workers
(Communist) Party are in a close race
for first place in the drive for \$30,
000 to establish the Workers Center,
26-28 Union Square.

Up until now Section 1 has had
things its own way and far outdis-

WORKERS PARTY DRAFT PLATFORM OF CLASS STRUGGLE

"All Political Groups Except Communist Party Defend Capitalist Society"

The following is a draft for the election platform of the Workers (Communist) Party proposed by the Central Committee to the convention. This draft failed to include some amendments considered acceptable but omitted for lack of time.

American Imperialism

President Coolidge said to the big bankers and manufacturers in Philadelphia: "We hold a great treasure which must be protected." In the name of the working class and the exploited farmers of this country the WORKERS (Communist) PARTY raises the question: Who owns the "great treasure," in whose interests must it be protected, and who bears the burden of its protection? And our answer is: The "great treasure" is owned by a handful of powerful bankers, manufacturers, and railroad magnates. The only share of it the workers and working farmers receive is exploitation and poverty, and all the burden of defense of the "great treasure" of American imperialism rests on the shoulders of the industrial and agricultural workers.

America is today the most powerful country in the world. America's wealth, the "great treasure," amounts up to 400 billion dollars. Half of the gold of the world is now in the possession of the United States. With but seven per cent of the world's total population America controls the bulk of the world's resources, 44 per cent of the world's coal, 70 per cent of the oil produced, 82 out of every 100 tons of steel, 60 per cent of the cotton and corn, and half of the world's railways, copper and pig iron.

A gigantic accumulation and concentration of capital is going on. The total amount of bank deposits is now over 50 billion dollars. There are over 1,000 factories in America employing more than 1,000 workers each, with a total of about 23 million workers. Of all wage-earners in manufacturing over 50 per cent work in those 10,000 factories each of which turn out annually products to the amount of a million dollars or over.

Trustification is asserting itself with irresistible power. Consolidations of railways, big combines and mergers in all industries are the order of the day. The United States Steel Corporation has a capital of 1.4 billion dollars. A food trust is attempting to put 2 billion dollars into one powerful corporation. The recent consolidation of the Brooklyn Edison Company and the Consolidated Gas Company of New York resulted in a merger of over one billion dollars. Five powerful companies control almost half of the whole national output of water power, and eleven companies control 80 per cent. Eight companies control three-fourths of the anthracite coal. Two companies exercise control over half of the copper resources of the country.

A process of centralization similar to that in production is going on in the field of distribution. There are today 3,893 chain store organizations controlling 101,536 retail outlets in thirty merchandise fields. These chains realized in 1927 a volume of business estimated at almost six billion dollars or 16 per cent of the total retail business of the country. The anti-trust laws function today not as instruments of "trust-busting" but as a means of trustification.

The United States is the leading country in respect to capitalist rationalization. The productive power of American industries has increased tremendously. In a decade productivity per employee in American manufacturing has increased 33 per cent, but wages per unit of production have increased only 2 per cent. Over-development of industrial productive capacity is one of the basic features of American imperialism.

Finance capital is almighty today. Banks and industries are merged. The climax of this development was marked by the fact that J. P. Morgan, head of American finance capital, became the head of the United States Steel Corporation, the country's biggest industrial company. Hand in hand with the trustification of industry goes the trustification of State power. The Government of the United States is today an administration of finance capital. The identity of the dominating personnel in finance capital and government administration is complete. Finance capital sends its direct representatives to the Cabinet as well as ambassadors to foreign countries.

Trustification, high tariff, monopoly, merger of trusts and State power, growing export of capital—this is the picture of American imperialism today.

The stabilization of European industries, and the decline of British imperialism have increased competition on a world scale. The United States imperialism is in a growing measure dependent on the world market, and it struggles for world hegemony in every corner of the world—from Latin America to China. It is engaged in murderous competition for the Russian market as well as for the markets of the British Empire.

Increased competition, increased

struggle for the resources of raw material and for the export of capital, high tariff walls, and ever-larger armies and navies create a growing menace of war. A second world war is inevitable. Wars on a smaller scale are going on today in a period which the spokesmen of imperialism call the era of "world peace." American imperialism is conducting a war of extermination against Nicaragua, is participating in interventions in China, and is an active accomplice of the capitalist conspiracy against the Soviet Russia.

Two main antagonisms lead today towards a world conflagration. One is the chief capitalist antagonism between British and American imperialism, which has taken the place of the pre-war British-German rivalry. The other one is the general capitalist conspiracy against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Although British imperialism is today the most reactionary force in world politics, American imperialism is the leading power and represents the most dangerous, most aggressive force of world capitalism. There is an ever-clearer crystallization of the two poles; on the one hand, the counter-revolutionary pole to defend capitalism against the growing revolt of the colonial peoples and the working masses of the capitalist countries under the leadership of the United States; on the other hand, the revolutionary pole under the leadership of Soviet Russia, around which all the oppressed peoples of the colonies and all the exploited workers of the world rally.

Wealth and Poverty

The United States is in the richest country in the world. "Uncle Shylock" is the creditor of all countries. The world owes the United States today not less than 23½ billion dollars. The number of millionaires is growing fast. In 1919 there were only 65 incomes over a million; in 1926 there were already 228. In 1919 there were only 189 incomes between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000; in 1926 the number was already 465.

In his 1926 address to Congress President Coolidge said: "The wealth of our country is not public wealth but private wealth. It does not belong to the Government; it belongs to the people." The prodigious wealth of the country is private wealth, but the "people" who own it are not the workers and exploited farmers. They are the few millionaires. The country is growing richer, but the share of the millions of working people in the wealth of the country is decreasing and the share of the few powerful millionaires is increasing with amazing speed. One per cent of all recipients of any income in this country receive not less than 20 per cent of the whole national income and get not less than 86.2 per cent of all corporate dividends. One per cent of the population possesses today not less than 33 per cent of all wealth; 10 per cent own 64 per cent; and the poorest 25 per cent possess only 3½ per cent. The overwhelming majority of the "people" to whom President Coolidge refers are born poor and die poor. The Federal Trade Commission states that about one per cent of the estimated number of decedents owned about 59 per cent of the estimated wealth, and more than 90 per cent was owned by about 13 per cent of the decedents.

The accumulated wealth is not distributed equally. Hand in hand with the growing fortunes of the few millionaires goes the growing exploitation and poverty of the unskilled workers, Negroes, and exploited farmers. Even President Coolidge was forced to admit in his Hammond dedication speech that there is a "considerable class of unskilled workers who have not come into full participation in the wealth of the nation."

The share of the wage-earners in the national income has decreased. The manufacturing wage-earners received only 40.1 per cent of the "value product" in 1925 as against 44.8 per cent in 1921. The wages of the shamelessly exploited four million agricultural workers amount to 1920 to 2.3 per cent of the national income and in 1926 to only 1.4 per cent. The "democratization" of wealth is only a capitalist myth. Bankers and industrial magnates own the big corporations. The workers do not possess more than one per cent of all stocks and bonds. "High American wages" is today the most popular publicity stunt of American and international capitalism but high wages embrace only a thin aristocratic stratum of the working class. The overwhelming majority of wage-earners is not able to earn even sufficient to fulfill the most elementary needs of a decent life. In the middle of the most advertised prosperity, in the summer of 1926, the Federal Bureau of Labor statistics estimated that the average wages for "common labor" were 43.5 cents an hour. The United States Department of Labor was forced to admit that many millions of workers are receiving wages of only \$10.34 a week.

President Coolidge made the bold declaration that "the people are prosperous," but reality shows that people work on starvation wages, that

the overwhelming majority of the nearly 60 per cent of the workers still work more than 48 hours a week, that women and children, Negro and foreign-born unskilled workers are exploited at least as mercilessly as the most exploited strata of the European working class. The prosperity of the "people" is best illustrated by the miserable shacks of the Southern cotton fields and the poverty-stricken slums of the Eastern cities. In his 1926 address to Congress President Coolidge said: "The power of the purse is the power over liberty." A handful of millionaires exercise power over the purse, and they exercise power over the liberty of the overwhelming majority of the United States. A handful of powerful millionaires own all the means of production—the factories, machinery, mines, railroads, water power—of this country, and are thus in a position to force the overwhelming majority of the people into wage slavery. The wealth of the few is the poverty of the many; the liberty of the few is the bondage of the masses.

Indictment of American Capitalism. Overproduction and starvation, overwork and unemployment, accumulation of wealth and accumulation of poverty—these are the features of capitalist prosperity for the workers and working farmers. The very fact that there can be such a thing as overproduction as long as the needs of every member of society are still unsatisfied is the most terrible indictment against capitalist economy. Capitalist society is unable to control its own forces of production. As the President of the United States Chamber of Commerce put it in his speech of May 10, 1928: "there has been an economic thunderbolt of increasing production unheeded by industry."

Unemployment is a permanent phenomenon in capitalist society. There is at any time 1½ million unemployed. The constant industrial reserve army is one of the props of capitalist society. The present depression with its 4 or 5 million unemployed workers brings untold misery. The labor of millions of children is one of the basic institutions of capitalism. Peonage no better than chattel slavery, Jim Crowism, and lynching are acknowledged sources of present day capitalist prosperity. The shameless exploitation of the unskilled foreign-born workers and the oppression of the whole races are parts of the capitalist system. The modern industrial serfdom of company towns is in existence to the glory of the "freest" constitution in the world. Capitalist industry conducts in the form of industrial accidents extermination against the working class. The infamous speed-up system causes the workers to get prematurely old. Old workers are thrown away like slack, like useless by-products. Not less than 1,800,000 old people are forced to live the life of "dependents." Sickness and early death are the punishment for poverty. The United States Public Health Service states: "Both sickness and death are much more frequent among those with low incomes than among those with incomes adequate to comfortable living."

Capitalist decency and morality is symbolized by almshouses, brothels, slums, and bootleg saloons. Prostitution of science, literature, and art is on the same level as prostitution of women. There is a crusade against the "crime wave," against petty larceny by the poor, conducted by those who are guilty of large-scale corruption and lobbying. With the exception of backward and impoverished China and India the powerful and rich civilized United States is the only country which does not have any social legislation. Jingoism, militarism, robber wars against Nicaragua and China—these are the results of American capitalism.

President Coolidge summed up in the following way his picture of American capitalism: "These are some of the economic results which have accrued from the American principles of reliance upon the initiative and the freedom of the individual. It is the very antithesis of Communism." And President Coolidge is right. American capitalism as it is—with all its economic, political, and moral results—is the very antithesis of Communism. There is no other alternative. The issue is capitalism or Communism. The Workers Communist Party of America declares itself the deadly enemy of capitalism. It has as its aim the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government, the establishment of a Communist society in which the means of production will not be the private property of the few, a society which will not be based on profit but on labor, which will not be founded on class divisions, which will eradicate imperialist wars as well as class wars, which will be able to eliminate poverty.

The Parties of Big and Small Business. With the exception of the Workers (Communist) Party all political parties and groups are defenders of the present capitalist society. The two old capitalist parties, the Republican and Democratic, are the

twins brothers in the expression of the interests of the bosses.

The Republican Party, which in the interests of the then revolutionary capitalism conducted a war against chattel slavery, is today working in the interests of the new counter-revolutionary capitalism for the perpetuation of wage slavery. The Republican Party of today is nothing but the party of trusts, of finance capital, of the biggest business interests of the country.

The Democratic Party was in the early stages of its history the party of slavery, against Northern capitalism and in the interests of the Southern plantation owners. Today, though many times masked with phrases of liberalism, it stands for the perpetuation of the peonage of Negroes in the South and for the maintenance of wage slavery throughout the country.

There are no real political differences between the two big political parties. Both are parties of capitalism; both are the enemies of the working class. The very existence of the two-party system is the most reactionary factor in American politics, is one of the factors which is responsible for the lack of an independent mass political party of the working class. Both capitalist parties try to put up the semblance of being defenders of the farmers, vying with each other in putting forward fake "farm relief" measures. The "struggle" between the Republican and Democratic parties is a staged fight, a mock struggle. There are no political issues between these two parties.

On the question of tariff, prohibition, taxation, imperialist war, farm relief, League of Nations, and all other discussed political issues there is much more division within each party than between the two parties. The main slogan of the Republican Party today is "Prosperity." But reality shows depression and unemployment. The main slogan of the Democratic Party is: "Honesty in Government." But reality shows at least as much corruption on the part of Democrats as on that of the Republicans. Tammany Hall can successfully compete in corruption with Teapot Dome.

There are several classes combined in each of these parties. Both still mirror in many respects the old sectional and regional groupings of the country, but in both there is an outspoken, decisive dominance of finance capital. Both are one of the basic issues: the oppression of the working class, the maintenance of the exploitation of the workers and working farmers, and the robber policies against the colonies and semi-colonies of American imperialism.

The group of so-called Progressives is by no means better than the Republican "Old Guard" of the Democratic heroes of Tammany Hall and the "solid" South. In 1924 the bulk of the so-called progressive group supported the LaFollette movement, which betrayed the interests of the working class and the working farmers and helped to lead into peaceful channels the discontent of the masses. In 1926 the attitude of the so-called Progressives is still more cowardly. They have even deserted the idea of a third party, and have gone back meekly into the old capitalist parties. Senator Wheeler came out openly in support of Al Smith who is the embodiment of the new Tammany Hall, who is the hero of the labor-smashing policies in the needle trades. Senators Borah and Norris are equally untrustworthy. Borah's empty gesture of "outlawing" war serves only as a cover for Kellogg's imperialist wars and war preparations. Senator Shipstead, who still usurps the name of Farmer-Laborite, is betraying the interests of the workers and exploited farmers in the most shameful way, is supporting the anti-labor injunction policies of the courts and the Nicaraguan war. These "progressive" Senators and Congressmen are in many respects more dangerous enemies of the workers and working farmers than the official spokesmen of big business, because they hide their capitalist face and create illusions in the minds of the masses. All these Progressives and semi-Progressives serve as a group of the present capitalist society and must be combated by all honest workers and farmers.

The official leadership of the trade unions, the whole bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor, is today part and parcel of American imperialism. Under the leadership of the most corrupt trade-union bureaucracy in the world the A. F. of L. has become a mere organization of the labor aristocracy, an instrument of class collaboration with the bosses instead of a means of struggle against big business. The capitalists are conducting the most murderous offensive of the open shop and wage cuts against the workers. The answer of the leaders of the A. F. of L. is a joint proposal with the American Bar Association for a Federal anti-strike law. The trade-union bureaucrats are today the partners of the bosses. They are trying to wrench the weapon of the strike from the hands of the workers. The whole infamously system of labor banks and trade-union insurance, trade-union capitalism is nothing but the most elaborate system of class betrayal. The leadership of the A. F. of L. does not conduct any struggle against wage cuts or for higher wages and shorter hours. The trade-union bureaucracy sabotages the great task of organizing the workers. The worthy heirs of Gomper—Green, Woll and Co.—are the advocates of the "Monroe Doctrine of Labor" are the spokesmen of a "labor imperialism." They have come out openly for a policy of common exploitation of the capitalists and workers of the United States. The B. and O. plan, the Mitten plan, compulsory arbitration, the transformation of the trade unions into semi-Fascist and semi-company unions—is today the policy of the A. F. of L. These corrupt misleaders of labor are helping to keep the workers in the camp of the old capitalist parties by maintaining the sterile and treacherous policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies" within the capitalist parties. There cannot be a successful revolutionary mass movement of the working class in America without smashing the whole edifice of the labor aristocracy and its corrupt bureaucratic leadership.

The Socialist Party of America, which still claims to be a working class party, is in fact a party of the lower middle class. Its leadership has become part of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. Its whole ambition is to inherit the traditions of the La Follette third-party movement. The militant spirit of Eugene Debs has been completely wiped out from the Socialist Party. In Wisconsin the Socialist Party is an official party of the capitalist administration. In New York the Socialist Party has substituted the red-white and blue flag of patriotism for the red flag of revolution. In Reading the city officials of the Socialist Party have pledged themselves to "understand that their responsibilities will be those of capitalist officials rather than of Socialist Party members." James H. Maurer, one of the councilmen elected by the Socialists in Reading and Vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, declared: "We are going to give the workers a typical working class government, but if there is a strike in Reading while we are in power, the capitalist employers will have his property and life protected as never he had it before."

The Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas, a typical Preacher, who performs the greatest service for Mexican imperialism by creating illusions about the League of Nations, about the possibility of preventing wars by peaceful means. The Socialist Party today is an advocate of the League of Nations, and is a supporter of the hypocritical "peace offensive" of Secretary of State Kellogg. The Socialist Party is uttering some critical phrases about the war in Nicaragua not because it is an imperialist war in the interests of Wall Street but only because it is "unauthorized and unsanctioned by the people or Congress."

The Socialist Party of today is for the protection of capitalist law and order, is against revolution, is against the working class government of Soviet Russia, and supports every measure of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy for class collaboration. The Socialist Party has transformed its party organization from a membership organization into a ward organization of voters. It has shifted its class basis from a working class entirely and definitely to the lower middle class. The last national convention of the Socialist Party in April, 1928, went so far as to drop the class struggle pledge that applicants for membership had to sign in the past.

The small sects, the Socialist Labor Party and the Proletarian Party have become completely fossilized, and do not play any role in the political life of the country or in any of the struggles of the working class.

The Workers (Communist) Party is today the only real revolutionary working-class party. It is the sole party which has a program for the workers and working farmers. It is the only party which conducts a relentless struggle against capitalism, against the old parties of the bosses and against the corrupt labor bureaucracy and the treacherous Socialist Party.

The Workers Communist Party is the party of the class struggle. It is the deadly enemy of class collaboration because it is the deadly enemy of capitalism. The Workers Communist Party is the champion of the interests of the working class and the working farmers. It is the advocate of the most exploited stratum of the working class, of the unskilled workers. It is the champion of the oppressed Negro race. It is the organizer of the struggle against imperialism, against imperialist wars.

The Workers (Communist) Party is the only Party which fights for the interests of the working class, of the working farmers, and the oppressed Negro race; and that is the very reason why all the forces of the old capitalist parties, the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and the leaders of the

Socialist Party are united against the Workers (Communist) Party. The Democrats, Socialists, and labor bureaucrats have a common platform. That platform is Red-baiting, anti-Communist.

In its 1928 election campaign the Workers (Communist) Party offers the following program against trustified capital and in the interests of the working class, working farmers, and oppressed Negro race:

The Curse of Unemployment

There is a heavy economic depression over the country with a very heavy unemployment in its wake. Bread-lines are long. Hypocritical "charity" is in its flower. Even conservative Senators estimate the number of unemployed at four million.

The curse of unemployment is the most terrible plight of the working class. The cyclical crises of capitalist industry bring with them time and again the untold sufferings of mass unemployment. But there is unemployment not only at times of crises; it is here at all times. Unemployment on a mass scale is a "normal" phenomenon of this glorious capitalist society.

The very technical progress—the development of new machinery, the increased productivity of labor—becomes under capitalist conditions a source of growing unemployment. The introduction of new machines has decreased the number of workers. The opening up of new markets cannot keep pace with the speedy development of technique. The introduction of machinery makes the skill of the workers superfluous. Large masses of unskilled workers can take the place of the skilled. The time of apprenticeship is being greatly shortened. Young workers and even children can take the place of adults. A growing number of women are entering into industry.

The introduction of machinery creates the basis for mass production. Mass production with its murderous competition ruins the lower middle class and drives its members as workers into the industries. Monopoly capitalism ruins the farmers and forces them to sell their labor power as industrial workers in the cities. Mass production opens up hitherto backward agrarian regions industrially. A large-scale industrialization of the South is taking place, and has driven hundreds of thousands of Negroes into the industries. Despite all prohibition of immigration there is an annual influx of hundreds of thousands of workers from other countries.

Under present capitalist conditions, it is inevitable that there be a constant industrial reserve army of jobless. Even in the best periods of prosperity, the number of jobless is estimated at one and a half million. In 1927, the factories produced 26 per cent more than in 1919. During this same period, the number of wage-earners employed in manufacturing decreased by not less than 980,000. Eleven per cent fewer wage-earners than in 1919 produced in manufacturing in 1927, 26 per cent more products. In other words, each worker produced 42 per cent more. The same tendency manifests itself everywhere. The railways had in 1927 almost 200,000 less workers than in 1919. The number of "superfluous" miners is near to a quarter of a million. In manufacturing, mining and railroading, there were almost one and a half million fewer workers employed by the end of 1927 than in 1919. During the last few years, there has been a continuous movement of population from the farms to the cities. In 1925, 834,000 in 1925, 1,020,000 in 1927, 604,000 more persons left the farms for the cities than the cities for the farms. A large proportion of these bankrupt and ruined farmers became industrial workers or rather tried to become industrial workers. Even Secretary of Labor Davis has been forced to raise the question:

"Is automatic machinery driven by relentless power going to leave on our hands a state of chronic and increasing unemployment? Is the machinery that turns out our wealth also to create poverty? Is it giving us a permanent jobless class?" A capitalist writer characterizes the present unemployment as a "technological unemployment, not cyclical—an unemployment developing gradually, almost unawares, like creeping paralysis, in the midst of unprecedented prosperity, the by-product of improved technological efficiency."

Unemployment is indeed the "ereeping paralysis" of capitalist society. It represents the most vicious contradiction of the present economic order. The more machinery, the higher the productivity of labor, the more unemployed. Labor itself produces unemployment. Unemployment of one part produces overtime for the other part of the working class. The pressure of unemployment forces wage-earners to accept jobs at lower wages and longer hours. The fear of unemployment is the most powerful chain which binds the workers to wage slavery. The fear of unemployment increases competition among the workers. Unemployment lowers the

power of resistance of the workers on the job. The working wage-earners are forced to accept overtime. Overtime again makes new masses of wage-earners superfluous. Unemployment creates overtime, and overtime creates unemployment. The bigger the factories, the more expensive the machinery, the greater is the tendency of the capitalists to lengthen the working time instead of increasing the number of workers. Hand in hand with the increasing accumulation of capital goes a relative and today even an absolute decrease in the number of workers.

The hypocritical advocates of capitalism lament about the existence of unemployment and call it the "greatest blot on our capitalist system" (Owen D. Young), but in fact the existence of a constant industrial reserve army is not a hindrance to capitalism. Quite the contrary. It is one of the basic conditions for the existence and maintenance of capitalism. Technical development, new inventions, the introduction of new labor saving machinery, will not cease. The opening up of new markets will not go at the same speed as heretofore. The industrialization of the colonies, the increasing competition with Europe, the existence of semi-capitalistic Soviet Russia, and the revolt of the colonial peoples are the narrowing limitations.

The present depression is not an "accident." It has been brought about by prosperity itself. Disproportion between production and consumption, which is a part of the general anarchy of capitalist production, is responsible for cyclical crises. Saturation of the automobile and building construction markets, overproduction of oil, the world coal crisis, the migration of the textile industry to the South, the limits of installment buying, the restriction of the farmers' market, the effects of American export of capital and of the stabilization of Europe, the increased competition with Europe—these are the basic features of the present economic depression.

There is no cure for unemployment under capitalism.

Shortening of the working day alone would not do away with unemployment. A general shortening of the working day would result in general part-time work, in perpetual overproduction, would bring about a crisis in permanence.

High wages alone cannot cure unemployment. It is futile to try to "convince" the capitalists to increase wages for the purpose of increasing the purchasing power of the workers. The capitalists will never sacrifice a portion of their profits, by transforming it into wages for the purpose of broadening the home market. Just the opposite is the policy of imperialist capitalism. It is cutting wages everywhere, and trying to increase its exports for the foreign market.

Neither can public works alone cure unemployment. Public works would tend to increase the forces of production, and would in the long run tend to reproduce unemployment on a larger scale. Higher wages, shorter hours, and public works would not cure unemployment, but might bring about a certain limited and temporary relief.

Unemployment is a world phenomenon today. The constant industrial reserve army has always been in existence, but the present chronic unemployment has assumed such proportions that it is no longer a prop of capitalism but an organic defect, one of the basic sicknesses of post-war capitalism. Unemployment is a horrible curse upon the working class. It is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the bosses. It chains the worker to wage slavery. It brings tormenting uncertainty into the life of every wage-earner. It breaks up the family of the worker by driving the women and children into the factories. It brings about moral degradation, creates a slum proletariat. There follows in its wake a growing criminality. It is the foundation of prostitution. In other words, it embodies and sums up capitalism as a whole.

Demands.

1. Unemployment insurance. A federal system of unemployment insurance should be established. A federal law must be enacted immediately by Congress providing for unemployment insurance for all wage-earners without any exceptions or disqualifications. The amount of compensation shall be full wages for the entire period of unemployment, the maximum to be \$30 per week. An unemployment insurance fund shall be created, fifty per cent to be contributed by the employers and fifty per cent by the state. The amount contributed by the state shall be raised by special taxes levied against inheritance, high income, and corporation profits. The administration of unemployment insurance shall be carried by unemployment insurance commissions, composed of representatives of trade unions, organizations of the unemployed, and factory committees.
2. Immediate enactment of a federal law providing for a general 40-hour, 5-day week working time and forbidding all overtime.
3. A federal law should be enacted providing for immediate emergency

"No Capitalist Cure for Unemployment 'Creeping Paralysis' of Capitalism"

help for all workers who have been unemployed two months or more, consisting of eight weeks' wages for each worker. The average received during the last four weeks of unemployment shall serve as the basis.

4. Establishment of public kitchens by municipalities to provide for all unemployed workers and their families.

5. Municipal provision for supplying free medical treatment, medicine and hospital care to all unemployed.

6. Public works. The federal, state and city governments should devise schemes for improving the roads and bridges of the country, improving the rivers, canals, docks and harbors, setting up electric power stations, reforestation, land drainage and land reclamation, extension and electrification of railways. On all public works trade union wages and conditions must be guaranteed by law.

7. Immediate abolition of all vagrancy laws. Protection of unemployed workers from arrest on charges of vagrancy.

The Offensive of the Bosses.

The working class of this country is facing a great crisis. A general offensive of the bosses is being conducted against the workers, an offensive to smash the trade union movement, to lower the standard of living of all workers.

The trustification of capital, the erection of huge monopolies, the all-embracing nationalization have increased the power of the bosses tremendously.

The capitalists are using all methods of rationalization mercilessly. Wage cuts everywhere—in the shoe, textile, automobile and rubber industries and in mining. A whole system of speed-up has been put in operation. The stop watch, group piece work, bonus system, efficiency engineering, the conveyor or travelling-belt system, increase mass production and intensify the exploitation of the workers.

Concentration of industries, Fordization, technical innovations, and the wholesale introduction of new machinery is the order of the day. The lengthening of working hours is attempted everywhere, with especially disastrous results for the unskilled workers. An injunction mania raves against every movement of the workers to resist the effects of rationalization. All the forces of the government—the police, state constabulary, the coal and iron police, the most infamous spy system—are mobilized against the workers. The open-shop drive, the "American Plan," is today the official policy of the capitalist class on the whole front. Company unions are being set up by the bosses, and strenuous attempts are being made to company-unionize all existing trade unions. All the combined forces of the bosses and their government are concentrated to prevent the organization of the unorganized masses in the basic industries.

The trade union bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. has met the general offensive of the bosses by a general surrender. There has never been in the history of labor such a shameful capitulation as the treachery of the A. F. of L. leadership and of the Socialist Party in the present grave situation of the American labor movement. Instead of fighting the shameful efforts of capitalist rationalization, these misleaders try to cooperate in introducing speed-up systems and capitalist efficiency. They put forward the "union-management cooperation" policy. They babble about "industrial democracy." They have elaborated the "higher strategy of labor," the notorious theory of Matthew Woll about the three stages of the American labor movement: the stages of conflict, of collective bargaining and of worker-employer cooperation. They proclaim the passing of war and truce and the coming of the age of permanent peace between the bosses and the workers. The trade union bureaucracy has dropped the last semblance of any resistance to company-unionizing the trade unions. They have come out openly for the Watson-Parker Bill and for a federal anti-strike law. They have dropped their previous petty trust-busting program and have become the high apostles of "efficient" trusts.

The results of the offensive of the bosses and the treachery of the trade union bureaucrats is the growing crisis in the labor movement. Trustified industry is out for a general open shop. The trade unions have been driven out from all basic industries. For the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. the number of organized workers has decreased even during a period of prosperity. The climax of the struggle was reached in the present fight of the United Mine Workers of America. This most powerful and most militant unit of the American labor movement has now been broken to pieces and delivered to the mercy of the operators.

The present depression has ruthlessly exposed the notorious formula of the trade union bureaucracy about "mass production, high wages and low prices" as the foundation of permanent prosperity. Millions of workers are jobless, desperately walking the streets. The crisis in the labor movement and the depression have exposed the true meaning of all class-collaboration plans. They show up the so-called profit-sharing, employee stock-buying, group insurance, B. and O. plan, Mitten scheme, and other systems of "union-management cooperation."

The smash-up of the labor bank of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is beginning to open the eyes of the workers to the disastrous effects of trade union capitalism.

Despite all the treachery of the labor bureaucrats, the workers are beginning to resist. The long struggle of the textile workers in Passaic, the Haverhill shoe strike, the battle of the Colorado miners, the firm and solid front of the needle trades workers in New York, the strike struggle of the textile workers in New Bedford and Fall River, and the heroic struggle of the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners who have already maintained their fight against the whole world for fourteen months, are the first powerful signs of the defensive struggle of the working class. Despite all the sabotage of the misleaders of labor, the vast masses of unorganized workers are beginning to organize themselves. The first attempts to organize the automobile workers have been made. The needle trades workers and the textile workers are being organized into independent unions. The mill committee movement of the textile workers, the shop chairman movement of the needle trades, and the Save-the-Union movement of the miners are the most promising signs of a fighting future.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America considers it as its duty to mobilize the masses for a relentless struggle against all harmful effects of capitalist rationalization. The workers must understand that rationalization in a capitalist society, with the means of production in private hands, can only intensify the exploitation of the workers. Rationalization in the interests of the whole of society can be carried out only in a Communist society in which the means of production are the property of the whole nation.

Demands.

1. Shorter hours of labor. A 5-day week. A minimum of 36 consecutive hours rest in seven days.
2. Fight for high wages. Strike against wage cuts.
3. Fight for the protection of the workers from the bad effects of capitalist rationalization, of the technical advances of mass production. Struggle against the speed-up system.
4. Organize the unorganized. The American working class cannot successfully resist the power of the trusts without building up a powerful organization of the workers in the basic industries.
5. Destroy company unions. Abolish the B. and O. and Mitten plans. Eradicate trade union capitalism.
6. Save the unions from the onslaught of the bosses and the treachery of the bureaucrats. Amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions. Democratization of the trade unions. The present corrupt leadership must be driven out.
7. Trade union methods alone cannot wage a successful fight. Trade union struggle must be supplemented by political struggle.

The Heroic Struggle of the Unions.

There has never been a more heroic struggle than the present strike of the hundreds of thousands of miners. They are fighting against the whole capitalist world. They are not only up against the coal operators, who are in close alliance with the big railroad companies and banks and backed by the government, but are also betrayed by their own leaders.

There is a deep-going crisis in the mining industry. The industry is unorganized. Production is in a chaotic state. Each of the 7,000 coal companies produces as much as it can. There is a murderous competition for markets. The mines are able to produce twice as much coal today as industry and consumers can absorb. The operators are closing down mine after mine, creating heavy unemployment. At the same time, the new labor-saving machinery is being introduced, aggravating the unemployment situation everywhere. The miners are being forced to increase their daily output by speed-up and longer working hours, thus making themselves in growing numbers superfluous. The operators say that the industry is faced with the problem: either it must get rid of its superfluous coal or its superfluous miners. They are driving out 250,000 miners from the industry.

The government has exposed itself frankly as the instrument of the operators in the present struggle. It has mobilized everything against the miners. Courts, injunctions, the national guard, state constabulary, judges and sheriffs are at the service of the operators. Every miner must now clearly see that the government is not the organization of the bosses. The operators themselves sit in the government. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mellon, a member of President Coolidge's cabinet, is one of the biggest shareholders of the most unscrupulous Pittsburgh Coal Company. The governor of Pennsylvania, Fisher, was a member of the board of directors of the Clearfield Coal Company. The officials of the government are either the bosses themselves or their paid agents. In the company towns the coal operators exercise directly state power in the form of coal and iron police and company gunmen. The coal operators there own everything—land, streets, buildings, stores. The local judges and sheriffs are paid by the operators. As has been proved by the Senate Investigating Committee, the Senate Investigating Committee itself is nothing but a smoke screen to deceive the workers, to create illusions in the minds of the miners. The miners have no constitutional rights

in the "freest" country in the world. And there can not be any real democracy and freedom in a society in which the few own everything and the masses do not own anything.

The miners must win the present strike. To win the strike means higher wages and better conditions. But they cannot win the strike unless they get rid of their present leaders. The Lewis machine is nothing but the agent of the bosses in the union. It sold out the struggle of the miners to the operators and to the government. The Lewis machine does not want to win the strike, its whole history is but an uninterrupted betrayal of all the fights of the miners. It betrayed the miners in 1919, in 1922, in 1925, and it has betrayed them in the most shameful way in the present struggle.

District after district was lost for the United Mine Workers under the leadership of the Lewis machine. In 1919 the miners' strike tied up 70 per cent of production; the present strike only 20 per cent. The Lewis machine criminally neglected the necessary preparation for the strike. It sabotaged the organization of the unorganized. It has signed up individual agreements. It has betrayed the cause of a national agreement. It has split the movement by ousting everybody from the union who wants a militant struggle. It is cutting off relief from every striking miner who dares to criticize it. It is trying to enforce a yellow dog pledge of starvation. The last vestiges of democracy have been eradicated from the union. Lewis stole the elections. The Lewis machine is not a leadership set up by the rank and file, but a leadership set up with the aid of the bosses over the rank and file. From June to December, 1927, while the striking miners were starving on a dollar or two relief, Lewis drew \$11,093.66 in salary and personal expenses.

The mining industry is in a crisis. The issue is: Who shall pay the expenses of the crisis? Shall it be solved at the cost of the operators, or of the miners? The miners, and with them the whole labor movement, must multiply their efforts to combat the onslaught of the operators. The defeat of the miners would be a defeat for the whole labor movement.

Demands.

1. Lewis must go. The rank and file must take over the union.
2. The unorganized miners must be organized. The big organization drive must be intensified and sped up.
3. Win the Pennsylvania and Ohio strike. Insist on a national agreement. Fight against wage cuts and for the Jacksonville scale. Mass picketing and mass violation of injunctions against the workers. Mass resistance to evictions.
4. It is the duty of the whole labor movement to organize relief for the starving and struggling miners.
5. Railroad workers, don't haul scab coal!

Colonies and Imperialist War.

Increasing rivalry with the other imperialist powers and brutal exploitation of the economically weaker, more backward peoples—these two features characterize the foreign policy of United States imperialism at present.

Wall Street's dollars and marines are extending their domination over ever greater sections of the world. Wherever there is a revolutionary upheaval United States imperialism is on hand and ready to crush it. United States imperialism is in a conspiracy with Great Britain against the Russian revolution. It cooperates with Japan and England in the interventions against China. United States imperialism supported Great Britain in her ruthless intervention in Shantung. United States warships and thousands of marines are "pacifying" China, and Washington admits that Admiral Bristol is empowered to call out the whole Pacific fleet against China if United States imperialism policy requires it. United States imperialism goes hand in hand with Japanese imperialism in Shantung against the armies of Chiang Kai-shek, but at the same time its representative, Admiral Bristol, cooperates with Chiang Kai-shek in crushing Soviet Russia.

The military dictatorship of United States imperialism is exercised more ruthlessly than ever before over the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands, Cuba, Haiti, Panama and Liberia are today reduced to vassal states of United States imperialism. The independence of all the Caribbean and Central American republics has become more than a tragic farce in view of their increased bondage to Wall Street. The Havana Conference, which was called in the name of Pan-Americanism, was only the instrument of United States imperialism. The Monroe Doctrine, which once served as a defense against European powers, is today the most aggressive means to conquer all America for the United States. The pressure of Wall Street forced Mexico to surrender her natural oil and land resources to dollar imperialism. The appointment of Morrow, the employee of Morgan, as United States Ambassador to Mexico exposes the whole Latin-American policy of the United States as the policy of finance capitalists. The fake "good will" flights of Colonel Lindbergh tried to exploit the sentimental illusions of the North American masses for the conquest of Latin America. Large

parts of Central America and South America have already been reduced to a state of semi-colonies of United States imperialism, and Wall Street and its White House agency are trying to transform them into true colonies.

The most disgraceful action of United States imperialism is its robber war against Nicaragua. President Coolidge disclosed in his speech of the 10th of February, 1927, the true meaning of the Nicaraguan war: "If the revolution in Nicaragua continues, American investments and business interests will be in danger." The infamous, bloody crusade against Nicaragua is the most typical, naked imperialist profit-war ever conducted.

United States imperialism cooperates with British imperialism against China, against Soviet Russia, against Nicaragua; but at the same time there is a murderous competition and increasing imperialist rivalry between the two robber powers. There is hardly any part of the world in which there is no open or covert struggle between English and American imperialism. United States imperialism is breaking up the British Empire by catering to Canada and Australia. United States imperialism has successfully challenged Great Britain's financial hegemony. There is a permanent rubber struggle and oil war going on between America and Great Britain. The fiasco of the Three-Power Naval Limitation Conference in Geneva and the American slogan for a "second to none" navy show the irreconcilable nature of the imperialist antagonism. The present cooperation of the United States government with Japan in China has in it the germs of future conflicts on the Pacific.

The present "peace conference" of Secretary of State Kellogg under the slogan to "outlaw war" is nothing but an imperialist maneuver. United States imperialism aims through the Kellogg treaty to diminish the European big powers, and tries to render futile any attempt of the European powers to build a bloc against United States imperialism. At the same time the Kellogg treaty tries to unite all the capitalist powers, not under the leadership of the League of Nations, but under the leadership of United States imperialism against the Soviet Union. Despite all empty talk about "outlawing" war, imperialist antagonisms are steadily growing, and there is increasing resistance against the aggressive imperialist policies of the United States. The growing competition with Europe, the organization of European trusts and cartels, the tariff issues with Germany, Great Britain and France, the questions of the war debts and the Dawes plan, the domination over the Pacific, the growing revolt of the Latin-American countries—all these conflicts are pregnant with future imperialist wars.

The whole policy of United States imperialism is today a policy of preparedness for imperialist wars. The entire country is bristling with bayonets. The United States has never before had such a big army and navy. No other country in the world has spent as much for its navy as this country. In 1926-27 Japan sent \$119,000,000, the British \$299,000,000 and the United States \$334,000,000 for navy purposes. In 1928 the appropriation for the United States navy has already reached \$369,000,000, and for the army \$394,000,000, together \$763,000,000. In his last message to Congress, President Coolidge came out openly for the big navy program. On December 14, 1927, the big navy program was introduced into the House of Representatives, appropriating not less than \$725,000,000. Federal government expenses for past and future wars amounted to 82 cents out of every dollar spent in 1927. It is estimated that in 1928 Congress will directly or indirectly vote about two billion dollars for military purposes on land and sea and in the air.

United States imperialism is making the most elaborate preparations for war. The workers and working farmers must know that wars under capitalism are inevitable. "Small" wars are going on all the time, even today, and the next big imperialist world war is already looming up. The next world war will be even more devastating than the first one. The whole life of the entire country will be subordinated to war purposes. The whole population will be mobilized. The whole country will be turned into a huge munition factory. The phrase about "outlawing" war, the promises about preventing war by arbitration, and the babbling of the socialist party about democratizing the League of Nations of the European robber powers, are only designed for one purpose: they distract the attention of the masses from the war danger, from the real revolutionary struggle against imperialist wars. Disarmament is impossible under capitalism. Compulsory arbitration is a reactionary utopia and delusion. Only the proletarian revolution can clear the way out from the present situation.

Demands.

1. Not a man, not a gun, not a cent for the imperialist army and navy.
2. Down with the imperialist war against Nicaragua. Defeat Wall Street's war in Nicaragua. Marines sent to Nicaragua must be refused to fight against the National Liberation Army.
3. Immediate withdrawals of all American troops from Latin America

and from the colonies of the Pacific. Immediate withdrawal of United States warships and marines from China.

4. Complete and immediate independence for all American colonies and semi-colonies.

5. Hands off Mexico.

6. Abolition of the regimes of United States Customs control or "supervision" of finances in Latin America.

7. Abolition of all extra-territorial privileges of the United States in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

8. Abolition of the present mercenary army and navy, and struggle for a tollers' militia. Election of officers by the soldiers and sailors. Full right to vote and hold office for the members of the military forces.

9. Fight for the abolition of the whole system of infamous imperialist "peace" treaties. Down with the Dawes Plan! Cancellation of all debts of the last imperialist world war! Immediate withdrawal from the World Court and refusal to enter into the League of Nations.

Defense of the Soviet Union.

The whole world is under capitalist domination. The socialist republic of the Soviet Union is the sole country in which there is a Workers' and Farmers' Government. The very existence of the Soviet Union is the best proof that it is possible to overthrow capitalism and emancipate the working class. The example of Soviet Russia shows that socialism is not a dream. It is a fact—and a fact that looms big in the history of mankind—that under the leadership of the Russian workers, a nation of 150 million, not less than one-sixth of the earth, has been able to free itself from the yoke of capitalism and establish a workers' republic which has maintained power for over ten years in spite of all the capitalists of the world.

The capitalist countries are carrying out a ruthless rationalization at the expense of the workers. Only the Soviet Union is carrying out a Socialist rationalization for the benefit of the nation as a whole. The proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union expropriated the capitalists and big landowners. The workers control the industries. The working farmers received the land of the big landowners. Soviet Russia is building Socialism now, and is taking the first steps toward a higher, a collective type of agriculture. There is the most complete system of labor protection and social insurance in Soviet Russia. One of the first steps of the proletarian revolution was the introduction of the 8-hour day and at the tenth anniversary of the existence of the Soviet Republic the Soviet Government established the 7-hour day. While the courts and the government of this country are smashing the unions in the name of the constitution, the Code of Labor Laws, Paragraph 155 of the Soviet Union, runs:

"In accordance with Statute 16 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, all organs of the State must render to the industrial unions and their organizations every assistance, place at their disposal fully equipped premises to be used as Palaces of Labor and trade union halls; charge reduced rates for public services, such as posts, telegraphs, telephones, railroad and shipping rates, etc."

There is a sinister conspiracy of all capitalist powers against the Socialist Soviet Union. Great Britain is the leader of the imperialist coalition, but the United States government is actively participating in it. The United States government refuses to recognize the Soviet Government, to recognize the very existence of one of the most powerful countries in the world, for the sole reason that the workers, and not the capitalists run that country. The United States government and its officials seize upon every opportunity to fight the Soviet Union. Ambassador Herriek's shameful statements in Paris, the American loans to finance the anti-Soviet policies of Poland and Finland, and the rejection of the goldbullion sent to the United States are convincing proofs of the hostile policy of United States imperialism toward Soviet Russia.

The Soviet Union is the only power which has reduced its military forces. It made the historic offer at the last international conference at Geneva for an immediate and complete disarmament of all countries. The capitalist governments refused to accept the proposal of the Soviet Union because the very nature of capitalism is aggression, oppression, and war. All capitalist armies are deadly enemies of the working class, but the Red Army of workers and peasants of the Soviet Union is the defender of the working class of the whole world. The solidarity of the working class of all countries must be with the only Workers' Republic in the world.

Demands.

1. Defend the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union, the champion of the cause of the working class of all countries, against the conspiracies of the capitalist powers.
2. Immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States Government.
3. Promotion of trade with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by the granting of sufficient credits by the Federal Government, as a means of stimulating American industry and absorbing the unemployed.
4. Establishment of direct connections between the American and Russian working class.

Capitalist Democracy and the Government-Strikebreaker

Many workers foster illusions as to the possibility of achieving their emancipation from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism through the election of a majority of the members of the legislative bodies and executive officials of the capitalist government. The American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party help to maintain these dangerous and futile illusions. The national platform of the Socialist Party states: "By intelligent use of the ballot, aided if need be by industrial action, all class divisions and class rule can be abolished." It is one of the foremost duties of the Communists to destroy such illusions and to expose all those yellow Socialist misleaders of the workers who help to create these illusions.

The present government is a government of the capitalists. It cannot be transformed into a government of the working class, and its sole purpose is to defend the interests of private property and oppress the workers, working farmers, the Negro masses, and the colonial peoples.

The Constitution of the United States was drawn up by bankers, big land-owners, and rich merchants of 1787, admittedly against the working masses. As Madison, the "Father of the Constitution," put it, the Government ought "to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority." It is an illusion to think that the majority of the people of the United States can change the Constitution. The vote of two-thirds of the members of the legislative bodies of three-fourths of the forty-eight states is required to initiate any movement for an amendment. On this basis one-fourth of the States, which may be the smallest ones and in which there may live only one-fourteenth of the population, can prevent any change of the so-called "democratic" Constitution.

The Constitution contains a whole series of notorious "checks and balances" for the sole purpose of making it impossible for a majority antagonistic to the ruling class to make its will effective. The members of the House of Representatives are elected every two years, the President every four years, and the members of the Senate every six years, so that a complete change of Government can be made only through elections spread over six years. The elections are not at the same time, because the Father of the Constitution wanted to give a chance for the "cooling off" of any mass discontent which might express itself in the elections. The Senate has a veto over the decisions of the House. A special joker of the Constitution is that a newly elected Congress cannot come into session until thirteen months after its election, thus giving a chance to the repudiated Congress to trench its will by new legislation. The President can veto the actions of both houses of Congress, and over and above the House, the Senate, and the President stands the Supreme Court, which can nullify laws which all three have passed, declaring these laws unconstitutional.

Only a minority of the people entitled to vote participate in the elections, and large sections of the population of voting age are disfranchised. In the South the 5.7 million Negroes of voting age are today as much disfranchised as in the darkest days of chattel slavery. The 6.3 million foreign-born, unnaturalized workers of voting age are disfranchised because they are "aliens." The disfranchised Negroes and foreign-born workers together constitute almost 20 per cent of the population of voting age. The youth between the ages of 18 and 21 is largely disfranchised. The hundreds of thousands of migratory workers, who cannot comply with the residential qualifications, are likewise robbed of their elementary political rights.

The two-party system, which in the South is in reality only a one-party system, is again one of the props of American democracy, preventing the splitting-off of the bulk of the working class and working farmers from the parties of big business.

Elections are very expensive in this country. Campaign funds are huge; they run into millions, and big business is able to buy as many and as high offices as it likes. On the other hand, working class parties, which rely only on the support of the exploited workers and farmers, are poor and are not able to compete with the rich capitalist parties.

Big business controls thousands of newspapers. Thirty million copies of poisonous capitalist propaganda every day fill the minds of the masses. Big business has a monopoly of the schools, churches, moving picture theaters, radio, and the whole machinery of propaganda and agitation. And when, despite all obstacles and barriers, some representatives elected by the votes of the working class get into the legislative bodies, big business prevents their functioning by simply kicking them out. This was done in the case of the Socialist members of the Cleveland City Council because they protested against the imperialist war. The same procedure was repeated in the case of the Socialist Assemblymen of New York State.

Under such circumstances to prate about "democracy" is hypocrisy and conscious betrayal of the working class. The present big business de-

mocracy of the United States is in reality nothing but a dictatorship of the capitalists. The 1928 election platform of the Socialist Party, which accepts the present constitution as a basis and demands only a "modernized Constitution," is thereby accepting the present capitalist State and the perpetuation of the oppression of the working class.

And if there is anything big business is unable to push through by "constitutional" means, it does it unscrupulously by unconstitutional means. Corruption is inseparable from capitalist government. There are very few countries in the world which show such a rich picture of governmental corruption. The Teapot Dome scandal, the Sinclair-Burne affair, the dirty deals of Daugherty and the other members of the Harding-Coolidge cabinet, and the campaign funds of the Republican Hoover and the Democrat Al Smith are but a few examples of the venality of leading politicians. And if any of them are caught, there are still judges and fixed juries to save them. It is proverbial that no rich man has ever been convicted in this country.

Democracy, corruption, and naked force and violence are the chief methods of capitalist dictatorship. Government by injunction, raids and deportations, penitentiaries for political prisoners, troops crushing strikes, frame-ups and lynchings—these are the realities of the unwritten Constitution. Today it is more true than ever before what George Washington, the first President of the United States, said: "Government is not reason; it is not eloquence—it is force."

With imperialism the Government has grown into a mammoth monster of centralization. The country has never had such a huge government apparatus. In 1884 the number of Federal civil service employees was only 13,780; by 1912 it had mounted to 278,000; while today the figure (exclusive of army and navy forces) is not less than 559,138. The number of Government employees—Federal, State and local—in the whole country today amounts up to a total of three million. This gigantic apparatus of bureaucracy is entirely in the hands of the capitalist. There is a complete merger of trusted capital and government. The leaders of big business—Hoover, the efficiency expert, Mellon, the richest man in the country; Dawes, the banker; Morrow, the errand boy of Morgan; Hughes, the strikebreaker; Fall and Daugherty, the keep men of the oil magnates—have or had seats in the Government. Governmental power is being concentrated more and more in the hands of the executive and judicial departments at the expense of the elected legislative bodies. The President, above all, has assumed almost unlimited power. He has control over appropriations of funds, over tariff runs the foreign policy of the country, and decides questions of war and peace. The actual constitutional form of the "freest" democracy in the world is today that of an unconstitutional monarchy.

The working class in its struggle for emancipation cannot "take over" the present apparatus of government. The proletarian revolution will destroy this apparatus, and will build its own based on the factories as units of production and not on territorial congressional districts. The State form of the rule of the working class will be the councils of the workers, which will serve not as "talking shops" but as working bodies uniting legislative and executive power.

Demands.

1. Abrogation of government by injunction.
2. Prohibition of the use of guards, g-men, deputy sheriffs, militia or Federal troops in labor struggles.
3. Unrestricted right to organize, to strike, and to picket. Unrestricted right of free speech, free press, and free assembly for the working class.
4. Abolition of the Senate, of the Supreme Court, and of the veto power of the President.
5. Judges should not be appointed. They should be elected by the working people, and should be removable at any time. Legal aid should be gratis for all wage-earners.
6. Franchise for all foreign-born and migratory workers and for the youth between the ages of 18 and 21. Enforcement of the franchise for the Negroes.
7. Abolition of the anti-syndicalist laws and the Espionage Act.
8. Repeal of all industrial court laws.
9. Abolition of secret anti-labor organizations.
10. Abolition of censorship over moving pictures, theaters, radio.
11. Immediate release of all political prisoners.

A Labor Party.

There are many strikes and labor struggles in this country, but there is no political mass party of the working class in the United States which can today rally millions of wage-earners. America is the only highly developed industrial country in the world in which the bulk of the working class is not yet politically independent. IT IS A MOST VITAL NECESSITY THAT THE MASSES OF WORKERS SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE MUST BE SUPPLEMENTED BY POLITICAL STRUGGLE. Without economic fights, without building unions and conducting strikes, the workers would be unable to improve their living conditions.

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And if there is anything big business is unable to push through by "constitutional" means, it does it unscrupulously by unconstitutional means. Corruption is inseparable from capitalist government. There are very few countries in the world which show such a rich picture of governmental corruption. The Teapot Dome scandal, the Sinclair-Burne affair, the dirty deals of Daugherty and the other members of the Harding-Coolidge cabinet, and the campaign funds of the Republican Hoover and the Democrat Al Smith are but a few examples of the venality of leading politicians. And if any of them are caught, there are still judges and fixed juries to save them. It is proverbial that no rich man has ever been convicted in this country.

Democracy, corruption, and naked force and violence are the chief methods of capitalist dictatorship. Government by injunction, raids and deportations, penitentiaries for political prisoners, troops crushing strikes, frame-ups and lynchings—these are the realities of the unwritten Constitution. Today it is more true than ever before what George Washington, the first President of the United States, said: "Government is not reason; it is not eloquence—it is force."

With imperialism the Government has grown into a mammoth monster of centralization. The country has never had such a huge government apparatus. In 1884 the number of Federal civil service employees was only 13,780; by 1912 it had mounted to 278,000; while today the figure (exclusive of army and navy forces) is not less than 559,138. The number of Government employees—Federal, State and local—in the whole country today amounts up to a total of three million. This gigantic apparatus of bureaucracy is entirely in the hands of the capitalist. There is a complete merger of trusted capital and government. The leaders of big business—Hoover, the efficiency expert, Mellon, the richest man in the country; Dawes, the banker; Morrow, the errand boy of Morgan; Hughes, the strikebreaker; Fall and Daugherty, the keep men of the oil magnates—have or had seats in the Government. Governmental power is being concentrated more and more in the hands of the executive and judicial departments at the expense of the elected legislative bodies. The President, above all, has assumed almost unlimited power. He has control over appropriations of funds, over tariff runs the foreign policy of the country, and decides questions of war and peace. The actual constitutional form of the "freest" democracy in the world is today that of an unconstitutional monarchy.

The working class in its struggle for emancipation cannot "take over" the present apparatus of government. The proletarian revolution will destroy this apparatus, and will build its own based on the factories as units of production and not on territorial congressional districts. The State form of the rule of the working class will be the councils of the workers, which will serve not as "talking shops" but as working bodies uniting legislative and executive power.

Demands.

1. Abrogation of government by injunction.
2. Prohibition of the use of guards, g-men, deputy sheriffs, militia or Federal troops in labor struggles.
3. Unrestricted right to organize, to strike, and to picket. Unrestricted right of free speech, free press, and free assembly for the working class.
4. Abolition of the Senate, of the Supreme Court, and of the veto power of the President.
5. Judges should not be appointed. They should be elected by the working people, and should be removable at any time. Legal aid should be gratis for all wage-earners.
6. Franchise for all foreign-born and migratory workers and for the youth between the ages of 18 and 21. Enforcement of the franchise for the Negroes.
7. Abolition of

Communist Party Is Champion of Workers, Working Farmers, Negro Race

and wages. But no permanent gain can be achieved by the wage struggle alone. The most powerful trade union can be paralyzed by the slinking Government. The workers may be robbed of the results of a successful strike, because the increasing cost of living can nullify higher wages. **WE CAN NOT FREE THE WORKERS FROM EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION.** Political struggle is necessary. But it must be political struggle in the interests of the working class and carried on by political organizations of the working class. Many workers participate in political struggles but on the side of the bosses. Today the bulk of the workers—even those who economically, in their trade unions, by their votes, fight the bosses—support the political parties of the same bosses, the republican and democratic parties. This is a fatal mistake, because it means that the workers themselves help the capitalists to hold their grip on the state power. Those workers who still remain in the camps of the republican and democratic parties are helping the capitalists to be the bosses of the courts, to use injunctions and armed forces to crush the trade unions and to paralyze the strike movements of the workers.

The workers have made several attempts to link up their trade unions and other labor organizations into a labor party. In certain places farmers labor parties are now in existence. The Workers (Communist) Party supports the formation of those labor parties which are based on trade unions and other organizations of the working class. It is willing to participate in the formation of such labor parties, because it considers this the first decisive step toward independent political action by the working class, the first step of the workers to break away from the parties of the bosses. At the same time the Communist Party considers it its duty to tell the workers frankly that a labor party has its limitations and that it will not be able to lead the workers in their final struggle for their emancipation, only a Communist Party can do that. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party can the American working class emancipate itself from the double yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

It is to the interest of the workers to participate in all election struggles. It is necessary to fight for the election of workers to the various legislative bodies. It is necessary to run workers' candidates for offices. But it is a dangerous illusion to think that the workers can assume power by electing more and more members of congress or executive officials. The workers can never seize power by the revolution can the working class swing into power. The most important aim of participation in election campaigns is the mobilization of the working masses for the struggle against the bosses. The chief usefulness of representatives in legislative bodies consists in securing a public tribune for the cause of the working class, from whence it is possible to expose the actions of the bosses and arouse the militancy of the masses. The workers must know that political struggle is much broader than mere election struggle. They must know that political struggle is in the interests of the working class and that it is conducted in the form of a politically independent working-class party. The notorious "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of L., which calls upon the workers "to punish the enemies and reward the friends" within the capitalist parties and capitalism itself. The policy of the so-called party, which promises the workers that they can assume power, abolish classes, and control the industries by the "intelligent use of the ballot," is an equally base betrayal of the working class. The I. W. W., which restricts itself to mere "industrial action" because it is afraid that through political activities it will lose its revolutionary integrity, has actually become a sectarian and reactionary organization.

Demands.

1. Independent political action of the working class, formation of a labor party on a national, state and local scale.
2. A genuine Labor Party must be based on trade unions and other labor organizations, and on factory, mill, and mine committees of the unorganized workers. A genuine Labor Party must exclude all politicians of big and small business, and must include as a true federated body all sections of the working class, without any discrimination, which accept the general principle of the class struggle and are willing to fight for the interests of the workers and exploited farmers.
3. We call upon every worker: Affiliates your trade union to the Labor Party and you yourself join the Workers (Communist) Party.

Social Legislation.

There is hardly any labor protection and even less social insurance in this country. The aim of labor protection is the safeguarding of the workers from the harmful conditions of production. The aim of the United States government today is the safeguarding of the capitalists from the "harmful" effects of trade union organization. There is no law setting a maximum to the working day or against overtime. No law guaranteeing a weekly rest for the workers.

No legal yearly holiday is assured the wage-earners. Very few compulsory rules exist or are enforced for safety and sanitation. Labor inspection is ineffective. America is the leading country of the world in the field of industrial accidents. In industry there occur annually 25,000 fatal accidents and 2½ million accidents causing temporary disability. In 1927 there were no less than 2,224 casualties on the mining field of battle. New York state alone had in 1926-27 in structural iron work not less than 21,606 accident cases which required compensation. In the metal mines there were 2,865 accidents per 10,000 workers. In other words, one worker out of every four was the victim of an accident.

There is no social insurance deserving this name in the United States. No care is taken of the unemployed, of the sick, of the old, of invalids and cripples. No help is given to families of deceased workers. As substitutes there are only the voluntary organizations of fraternal societies. Some of the trade unions try to build up some insurance schemes. All these small-scale organizations are very limited in their effect and mean an additional burden for the workers. The group insurance of the employers means the enslavement of the workers to a certain corporation. The private insurance companies are fleecing the working masses. There is a general lack of security in the life of the working class of America. No worker grows old as fast as the American worker. Speed-up and lack of labor protection drives him to premature old age. Scores of poisons, extreme heat and dampness and dust, and lack of sanitary measures ruin the health of the toilers.

The lack of labor protection and social insurance in the United States, in the richest capitalist country in the world, is brought out in bold relief by comparison with the Workers' Republic of the Soviet Union. The Socialist Republic of Soviet Russia has the most complete system of labor protection and social insurance. Her social insurance provides the following benefits: temporary disability benefits; benefits for child birth, infant nursing, burial of insured persons and members of their families; pensions for widows; permanent disability benefits; pensions to family in event of bread-winner's death; unemployed benefits; maintenance of rest homes, sanatoria, and health resorts for workers; free medical aid.

In Soviet Russia all forms of social insurance are under the management of the workers and are maintained at the expense of the state. Factory inspection and all state protection of labor organs are under the direct control of the trade unions. Compulsory yearly vacations on pay are assured. The 7-hour day is guaranteed by law. The law forbids systematic overtime. There is a legal weekly rest of 42 hours. Special protection of women and children in industry has been enacted. A large range of sanitation and safety measures in all factories has been instituted.

There is a work of difference between the lack of labor protection and social insurance in the United States of America and the complete system of labor protection and social insurance in the United States of Socialist Russia—the difference between a capitalist and a socialist country.

Demands.

1. Federal law for social insurance in the case of sickness, accident, old age, and unemployment for all wage-earners. The administration of all social insurance measures should be in the hands of the workers. The expenses should be covered by the state and the employers.
2. Federal law for the enactment of the 40-hour, 5 day week, forbidding all overtime. The law shall provide for a six-hour working day in especially dangerous industries. Immediate enactment of a federal law providing for 36 consecutive hours of weekly rest for all wage-earners.
3. Federal law for compulsory rules and technical measures for safety and sanitation.
4. Establishment of effective labor inspection; inspectors to be elected by the workers themselves.
5. Free medical treatment, medicine, and hospital care for all wage-earners.

Tariff and Taxation.

The propaganda agencies of the bosses are spreading the fallacy that the workers do not pay taxes. In reality the workers and working farmers are the classes of society which bear the burden of the bulk of all taxation.

Direct and indirect taxation and tariff revenues weigh down upon the shoulders of the working masses. The taxes are the basis of public expenditures. Public expenditures, however, are nothing but the costs of maintenance of the state apparatus of big business. The collection of taxes from the masses is a method by which the exploited are forced to pay the expenses for the upkeep of the system of exploitation and oppression.

Both parties of big business have been vying with each other for years to lighten as much as possible the burden of taxation for the big capitalists, transferring the burden of taxation to the backs of the workers and exploited farmers. The various tax-reduction plans of the government have had only one signal aim: to cut the taxes of the rich and to cut even more the taxes of the richest. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, who himself is one of the richest men in the country, is brazenly following the policy of cutting down the

super-tax on high incomes, and declares that he is against tax exemption of low incomes, on the ground that the payment of taxes creates for people with low incomes "a sense of partnership in the government." The most outrageous privileges are enjoyed by the parasitic owners of federal, state and municipal securities. This rentier class, which is completely divorced from the process of production and whose only connection with industry is coupon-clipping, owns today no less than 16 billion dollars of such securities, which are wholly exempt from all taxation.

The most vicious form of indirect taxation is the tariff. The tariff raises the cost of living for the working class, and increases the price of industrial goods bought by the farmers. The United States has the highest tariff in the world, despite the fact that the industries of this country are the most highly developed and enjoy the strongest position.

Trust monopoly and tariff go together. The chief function of tariff is to secure unlimited monopoly to the trusts. The tariff helps to exclude foreign competition. It makes it possible for the trusts to raise the prices of their products to the buyers of this country by an amount nearly equal to that of the tariff. At the same time it makes it possible for the trusts to sell their goods below cost price in foreign countries, thanks to the surplus profits they make in this country.

Trust monopoly and high tariff are the most dangerous factors working for new imperialist wars. The larger the territory "protected" by tariff the greater the amount of super-profit. The trust monopolies, therefore, have a tendency to expand the territory of the United States, to occupy new regions.

The high tariff wall around this country forces the other countries likewise to "protect" themselves by tariff walls. This hinders or even prevents the export of American products to other countries. But accumulation of capital is going on with increasing speed, and American big business, instead of exporting goods, is exporting capital on an ever-greater scale. The next step is again the "defense" of the investments of American bankers in foreign countries. A strong army and a "second to none" navy are necessary. War threatens, war danger, and wars are the order of the day. The "protective," "defensive" tariff is in reality the most offensive weapon in the hands of big business.

The tariff policy of both parties of big business exposes the emptiness and unprincipledness of their so-called struggle against each other. The republican party was originally the party of tariff, because it represented the growing manufacturing interests of the North. The democratic party was originally the party against tariff, because it expressed the interests of the large plantation owners of the South. But with the change in economic conditions both parties are altering their positions on tariff. The industrialization of the South has created a section of the democrats to come out as advocates of high tariff. On the other hand, the international bankers of the North who have invested billions in Europe and are afraid that Europe will not be able to pay her debts if she can not export industrial products to this country, are now in favor of the lowering or abolition of the tariff and are making their influence felt more and more in the high councils of the republican party which they dominate.

The interests of the working class are against high tariff. At the same time it would be an illusion to think that "free trade" would be a permanent relief for the toiling masses. Free trade under capitalist conditions is as much a capitalist institution as high tariff.

Demands.

1. Abolition of all indirect taxes.
2. Exemption from all kinds of taxation for all wage-earners.
3. Tax-exemption for all working and exploited farmers.
4. Graduated income tax, starting with incomes above \$5,000 and increasing gradually, so that all incomes over \$25,000 per year are confiscated.
5. All tax exemptions on bonds, stocks and securities must be abolished.
6. All tax-exemptions on bonds, taxes on great fortunes must be introduced.
7. Tariff on all necessities of the working class and on all goods used by the farmers must be abolished.

The Plight of the Farmers.

For two decades the conditions of the farmers have been growing steadily worse. The working farmer is becoming poorer and poorer. Millions have been driven away from their farms. Other millions are bankrupt and are only nominally owners of their farms. Tenantry is growing. The standard of living for the farmer and his family is becoming lower and lower. Hardships, suffering and poverty are features of the life of the working farmer.

The working farmer is today in an increasing measure only nominally the owner of the land. The mortgages and other debts are an unbearable burden on the exploited farmer. The product of his labor no longer belongs to him but to his creditors. The total amount of debts of the farmers (mortgages, personal and commercial) is the stupendous sum of 15 billion dollars, which, at 6 per cent means an annual tribute of 900 million dollars to the bankers, merchants and other leeches of capitalism. The number of exploit-

ing absentee owners is steadily increasing. In 1880 tenant farmers were 25.6 per cent of all farmers; in 1925 they were already 38.6 per cent. Farmers are forced into bankruptcy by hundreds of thousands. In the Middle West between 1920 and 1923 no less than 22.5 per cent of all farm owners and 35 per cent of all tenants lost their farms by bankruptcy, by foreclosure, or retained them only—as the government expresses it—by "the leniency" of their creditors.

At least 40 per cent of the whole agricultural population, 4.2 million people, are neither owners nor tenant farmers but simply agricultural workers, who own nothing but their labor power. The agricultural workers have the lowest standard of living, are forced to work the longest working day and under the worst conditions in the whole country. Their wages are actually decreasing. The introduction of new machinery is replacing them by tens of thousands. They are unorganized, isolated, and completely at the mercy of their employers and the state power.

The working farmers are in the most disastrous condition, because they are up against trust monopoly. The farmers are forced to pay the highest percentage of taxation. The taxes of the farmers have been increased in a most alarming fashion. They amounted in 1913 to \$624,000,000; today to \$1,436,000,000. The general property tax is directed chiefly against the farmer rather than against other property owners. The local taxes increase the burden of the working farmer to an intolerable degree. Even Secretary of Agriculture Jardine was forced to admit that the farmers spend not less than 30 per cent of their net income for taxes.

Merchandization of agriculture is another reason for the ruin of the farmers. The number of tractors, which in 1920 was 229,000, by 1925 had grown to 506,000, and in 1927 amounted to 700,000. The use of combines is spreading, each of them displacing three harvest hands. The poor farmer is too poor to buy expensive machinery. His farm is too small to utilize machinery to its full extent.

Industry is trustified and by virtue of its monopoly is able to control the prices of machinery and all the other goods the farmer must buy. At the same time big business is able to dictate the prices of all products the farmer must sell. There is a whole series of special forms of exploitation to which the farmer is subjected. He is at the mercy of the powerful capitalist agencies of distribution of farm products, the railroads, meat packers, milk trusts, huge elevator combines, gamblers and cotton brokers, banks, and the government farm credit legislation.

The basic reason for bankruptcy of the working farmer is trust monopoly, is capitalism.

All agricultural credit is in the hands of the banks. The cooperative organizations of the farmers are chained to capitalism by means of credit. Tariff, which is supposed to "protect" not only industrial products but agricultural products as well, operates only in the interests of the big trusts. All the promises of the republican and democratic parties have amounted only to betrayal of the farmers, and have only been in the interests of the bigger landowners and farm banks.

The big lesson the working and exploited farmers must learn from their own desperate situation is that they must break off their alliance with the bankers and other factors of big business and must form an alliance with the working class. The fate of the McNary-Haugen "farm relief" bill and the McFadden branch banking bill is the best proof of the futility of any alliance of the farmers with the bankers. The farm bloc in Congress which speaks in the name of the working farmers, but is in fact the expression of the interests of the big landowners and farm bankers, made a bargain with the representatives of Wall Street to the end that both bills should pass jointly in Congress. Indeed, both bills passed. But President Coolidge, as the highest exponent of big business in the government, signed only the McFadden banking bill and vetoed the McNary-Haugen "farm relief" bill. And the so-called friends of the farmers—banker Dawes, millionaire Lowden, the farm bloc, the "Progressives" such as La Follette, Norris, Shipstead and the like—are only enemies of the exploited farmers in the disguise of friends.

The working and exploited farmers and the industrial and agricultural workers must fight shoulder to shoulder against their common enemies; against big business, against the trusts and against the government of capitalism.

Demands.

1. A five-year moratorium on farm mortgage debts, including debts on chattels.
2. Protection of the working farmer against monopoly prices. Essential lowering of the prices of all trust products which the farmer uses.
3. Protection of the farmer against special exploitation by distributing agencies of production, by railroads, meat packers, milk trusts and grain elevator combines.
4. Federal law against forced farm foreclosures.
5. Abolition of all federal and local taxes on working and tenant farmers.
6. The land shall belong to its users.
7. Complete freedom to organize and strike for the agricultural workers. Federal law to guarantee a

seven-hour maximum working day and a 36-hour weekly rest for all agricultural workers. Yearly vacation with pay for all farm laborers. Extension to agricultural workers of all benefits of social insurance and labor protection legislation demanded for industrial workers.

Oppression of the Negroes.

American white imperialism oppresses in the most terrific way the ten million Negroes who constitute not less than one-tenth of the total population. White capitalist prejudice considers the Negroes as a "lower race," as the born servants of the lofty white masters. The racial caste system is a fundamental feature of the social, industrial and political organization of this country. The Communist Party declares that it considers itself not only the party of the working class but also the champion of the Negroes as an oppressed race, and especially the organizer of the Negro working class elements. The Communist Party is the party of the liberation of the Negro race from all white oppression.

There is a "new Negro" in process of development. The social composition of the Negro race is changing. Formerly the Negro was the cotton farmer in the South and domestic help in the North. The industrialization of the South, the concentration of a new Negro working class population in the big cities of the East and North, and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale have changed the whole social composition of the Negro race. The appearance of a genuine Negro industrial proletariat creates an organizing force for the whole Negro race; furnishes a new working class leadership to all Negro race movements, and strengthens immensely the fighting possibilities for the emancipation of the race.

The Negro tenant and share farmers of the South are still, despite all the pompous phrases about freeing the slaves, in the status of virtual slavery. They have not the slightest prospect of ever acquiring possession of the land on which they work. By means of an usurious credit system they are chained to the plantation owners as securely as chattel slaves. Poonage and contract labor are the fate of the Negro cotton farmer. The landowners, who are at the same time the merchants and the government of the South, rule over the Negroes with a merciless dictatorship.

There is the most dishonest and disgraceful "gentlemen's agreement" between the two capitalist parties against the political rights of the Negroes. The famous Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments of the constitution amount but to a scrap of paper. They were never carried out for a moment. The Supreme Court has upheld all state laws which disfranchised the Negroes. Sheer force prevents the Negro from exercising his so-called political rights. The federal government has never made any attempt to reduce the representation of those southern states which violate the constitution, as section two of the Fourteenth amendment of the constitution provides. The republican party, the party of Lincoln, has sunk so low that it has provided for measures to segregate the Negro delegates to its 1928 Kansas City nominating convention. Lynch law is the hold over the Negroes. The terror of the Ku Klux Klan is the constitution for the Negroes. They are burned alive, whipped to death, hunted to death with dogs in the name of white civilization.

There is a general segregation policy against the Negro race. Separate residential sections; Jim Crow cars; separate schools for Negro children; exclusion from "white" hotels, restaurants, theatres and railway waiting rooms; exclusion of Negroes from juries which try Negroes. Negro teachers can not teach in white schools. The white masters try to reduce the Negroes to illiteracy. According to the 1920 white census, there were 4 per cent illiterates among the whites and 22.9 per cent among the Negroes. The southern states spend hardly any money for the education of Negro children, but provide lavishly for the education of the children of the white.

In the cotton states the Negro farmers live in shacks together with their animals. In the cities the Negroes do the unskilled, the most disagreeable, most hazardous work and are crowded into the worst sections of the city. The death rate of the Negroes is much higher than that of the whites. In 1925 it was 11.8 per thousand for the white and 8.2 for the Negroes.

The southern plantation owners and their government have tried to keep the Negro farmers and agricultural workers in the southern cotton fields by force. But even their brutal terror has not been able to check the mighty migration from these cotton plantations to the industrial centers of the northern and eastern states. This migration is an "unarmed, Spartan uprising" against slavery and oppression by a capitalist and feudal oligarchy.

The Negro fled from the South, but what has he found in the North? He has found in the company towns and industrial cities of the North and East a wage slavery no better than the contract labor in the South. He has found crowded, unsanitary slums. He has exchanged the old segregation for a new segregation. He is doing the most dangerous, worst paid work in the steel, coal and packing industries. He has found the racial prejudices of a narrow, white labor aristocracy, which refuses to recognize

the unskilled Negro worker as its equal. He has found the treachery of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., which refuses to organize the Negroes into trade unions. The lynchings of the South are replaced by the race riots of the East. The employing class tries to arouse the racial hatred and prejudice of the white workers against the Negro workers with the sinister aim to split and divide the ranks of the working class.

The Communist Party considers it as its historic duty to unite all workers regardless of their color against the common enemy, against the master class. The Negro race must understand that capitalism means racial oppression and Communism means social and racial equality.

Demands.

1. Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial equality.
2. Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Negroes. Abolition of all Jim Crow laws. The law shall forbid all discrimination against Negroes in selling or renting houses.
3. Abolition of all laws which disfranchise the Negroes on the ground of color.
4. Abolition of laws forbidding inter-marriage of persons of different races.
5. Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities.
6. Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all railway station waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels, and theatres.
7. The War and Navy Department of the United States Government should abolish all Jim Crow distinctions in the army and navy.
8. Immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against the membership of Negro workers.
9. Equal opportunity for employment, wages, hours, and working conditions for Negro and white workers.

The Foreign-Born Workers

Next to the Negroes the foreign-born workers in the basic industries are the most exploited, most persecuted stratum of the toiling masses of this country. There are almost 14 million foreign-born in the United States. The overwhelming majority belong to the working class. Nearly half of all the foreign-born is toiling in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. The majority of all industrial workers of America, not less than 58 per cent of the total employed in American industries, is foreign-born. Steel, coal, textile automobile—all these industries are based on the sweat of the foreign-born workers. Cut off by differences in language and customs, the foreign-born workers are an easy prey of the employing class. Their fate is the longest hours, the lowest wages, the worst housing, the poorest schooling. Scores of state and federal laws discriminate against the foreign-born workers. There is hardly a state in the United States which has no special law discriminating against the foreign-born workers. According to the law of some states, the foreign-born has no right to read newspapers or books not printed in English. He has no right to keep dogs or a gun or a rifle. He can not teach in public schools. According to the laws of nine states, a foreign-born worker cannot be employed on public works. Some states do not allow public meetings to be conducted except in the English language.

But all this discrimination is not enough for 100 per cent Americanism. The Coolidge administration is carrying out an offensive against the foreign-born workers as part of the open-shop drive of the bosses, is planning a whole series of vicious measures against them. The foreign-born workers are to be registered. They are to be finger-printed and photographed like criminals. If naturalized, they are to have their citizenship papers taken from them, if their conduct does not suit the bosses. They are to be deported, if they participate in strikes or make speeches in strike meetings. The Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, Albert Johnson, during the powerful demonstrations demanding freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti, uttered the threat: "Aliens domiciled in America should remember that if they partake in anti-government demonstrations here they are liable to deportation under the 1919 Act."

These are a whole series of bills before Congress which are aimed against the foreign-born workers. The Brand Bill, the Hawes Bill, the Ashwell Bill, and other products of American Fascism try to reduce the foreign-born workers to modern industrial serfs. The Brand Bill would compel all foreign-born not only to register but "to report at such times and such places" when "in the judgment of the president the interests of the national defense so require." The same Act would decree that "when-ever any alien is temporarily absent from the district in which he is registered, he shall report at such times and places and give such information in regard to his movements as may be required."

The immigration laws which restrict the freedom of movement of the foreign-born workers and discriminate against the peoples of Asia is part and parcel of the system of American imperialism. The newest demand of the bosses, as expressed in the notorious Brand Bill, is to give full authority to the president to regulate, restrict or enlarge

the immigration quotas according to the actual needs of the different industries. The apostles of 100 per centism are not the enemies of the foreign-born workers, if they can use them as strikebreakers, as helpers "in industrial needs."

The labor aristocracy, under the leadership of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, shares with big business the profits derived from high tariffs and restriction of immigration. High tariff is the material basis for the prohibition of immigration. They were erected together and they will fall together. The platform of the Socialist Party for 1928 shows the true colors of this renegade party in not demanding unrestricted freedom of immigration and the repeal of the infamous immigration laws, but calling only for the "modification of the immigration laws to permit the reuniting of families."

The Workers (Communist) Party of America is equally the party of the native-born, the foreign-born, and the Negro workers. It is the party of the whole working class. It fights the offensive of the bosses against the foreign-born workers. It fights against nationalist prejudices which divide the ranks of the workers. Its slogan is: Workers of all languages and races in America unite!

Demands.

1. All workers must unite against the common enemy, the capitalist class, to prevent the enactment of new laws (to register, fingerprint, and photograph) against foreign-born workers and to abolish all existing laws of discrimination.
2. All workers must wage an active campaign to uproot the prejudices fostered by the employing class against the foreign-born workers and to draw the millions of foreign-born workers more and more into the political life of the country and the class struggle.
3. Immediate repeal of the immigration laws. Abolition of all restrictions in immigration.
4. Equal pay for equal work for native and foreign-born workers.

Working Women.

The number of working women is steadily growing. There are today in this country 8½ million working women over the age of ten.

The capitalists are the apostle of the family, but they do not hesitate to break up the family life of the working class, if the needs of industry make it necessary. They cannot resist the call of the profits. The number of adult and married women in industry is growing fast. It had reached in 1920 almost two million. Manufacturers prefer women, because they offer less resistance than male workers to capitalist oppression. Male workers are often replaced by women, because the introduction of new machinery makes the skill of male workers superfluous. As a general rule, women work in less well-paid occupations and receive lower wages for identical work. Such and not different is the logic of capitalism. Working women need more protection. They are weaker than the male workers; therefore, they get less protection and are subjected to greater exploitation than male workers.

The Communist Party is by no means against women working in industry. It considers it as social progress, but it calls on the worker to fight the harmful effects of industrial work on women and to struggle for the adequate protection of working women. Only a Communist society can lift the double burden of house-keeping and factory work from the women of the working class.

Demands.

1. Prohibition by law of night work, overtime and job work for working women.
2. The law shall provide for an allowance throughout the period of pregnancy and child-birth to the amount of full working wages.
3. Legal enactment of a special allowance for working women during the nursing period of nine months. Nursing mothers shall have a half hour's leave every three hours in all working places.
4. Equal pay for equal work for male and female workers.

Youth, Child, Labor, and Education.

Exploitation of children and young workers is one of the pillars of American capitalist society. Children's blood and young boys' and girls' sweat are a growing source of profit for big business. According to the 1920 census, there were over one million working children between the ages of 10 and 15. To increase the shame there were 378,000 toiling children between the ages of 10 and 13. There are no statistics on the work of children under the age of 10—that is the sole reason why there is no report about the scores of thousands of the smallest children of the working class slaving to the glory of our dollar civilization.

There are almost four million young workers and at least one million boys and girls in industry alone. Steel and iron, coal and textile factories are the chief "playgrounds" of our working-class youth. Technical progress means progress of youth and child labor. It is one of the biggest achievements of American democracy that the Supreme Court of the United States, that notorious guardian of American liberties, declared any laws forbidding child labor unconstitutional.

The propaganda agencies of capitalism boast about the wonderful progress in education. They forget only that the sole aim of the edu-

cation of the working class is to prepare them for the struggle against the capitalist system. The propaganda agencies of capitalism want to keep the workers in a state of ignorance and superstition, so that they will not see the need for a revolution.

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"Quit Capitalist Parties! Join Communists! On to Workers, Farmers' Rule!"

tion of the children of the working class is to implant in their minds as early as possible a feeling of awe towards capitalist society. Education is class education in this country. Higher education is too expensive for the children of the working class. Primary education is too conducted in the spirit of jingoism and religious prejudice. According to official statistics, in 1920 only 73 per cent of the pupils reached the sixth and only 58 per cent the eighth grade. In other words, almost half of the children did not even graduate from the elementary school. The schools are overcrowded. Anti-evolution laws prevent the teaching of natural science in many states. In the South Jim Crow education prevails. The famous "academic" freedom is only a legend.

Under capitalism, education is a monopoly of the master class. Only a Communist society will break this monopoly and will abolish the class character of education, transforming it into social education, making it compulsory, universal and equal.

Demands.

1. Compulsory abolition by law of child labor under the age of 16, and state maintenance of all children at present employed. Abolition of underground work, night work, overtime, and work in dangerous occupations for all young workers. Six-hour working day for all young workers between the ages of 16 and 18.

2. A \$20 minimum wage for young workers.

3. Establishment of workschools in factories for the training of young workers in industry. These workschools should be modeled on the work schools in the Soviet Union, should be under the control of the young workers belonging to trade unions and workers' factory committees. Young workers to receive full wages while attending work school.

4. Immediate utilization of schools as feeding centers for children of unemployed workers, whether of school age or below it. These stations should be under labor-parent control. Free clothing and free medical treatment by the schools for the children of the unemployed.

5. Every young person 18 years of age or over must be given the right to vote. Old enough to work—old enough to vote.

6. In schools at present: (a) Free

and equal education from the elementary schools through the universities. (b) Immediate relief from overcrowding by building new schools. (c) Abolition of religious and jingoist instruction; abolition of Jim Crow education. (e) No discrimination against teachers on account of "subversive" political opinions; right of teachers to organize.

Housing.

Nothing brings out into bolder relief "equality" under capitalist conditions than the matter of housing. The members of the master class dwell in the swellest apartments, in the most luxurious places. They mobilize the clean, broad streets of the "respectable" residential sections. The workers are segregated into the most disagreeable unsanitary sections of the crowded cities.

Congested tenements, miserable slums are the main quarters for proletarian homes. Death has a bigger toll in the workingclass sections, especially among the children. Rent is unbearably high for workers. On the average the worker is compelled to spend more than 25 per cent of his wages on rent. According to the law of social justice in capitalist society, the higher the income the lower relatively the rent.

The government—federal, state and municipal governments alike—are doing nothing to relieve the housing shortage and to reduce the high rents. Building speculators do not construct homes for the workers, because the poorly-paid wage-earner is not able to pay the high rent demanded. Scores of thousands of workers are forced to live in lightless rooms without adequate plumbing and heating, with insufficient ventilation and water supply.

In striking contrast to the criminal attitude of the American capitalist government towards the housing situation are the measures of the Workers' Government of the Soviet Union. The Workers' Government of the Soviet Union nationalized all dwellings of the capitalists to the workers. It turned over all the palaces and villas of the capitalists to the workers. It lowered the rent for wage-earners so much that unskilled workers pay only a nominal rent. The building of homes for workers is an essential part of the whole constructive program of the Soviet Government, which spends hundreds of millions

yearly to erect houses for wage-earners.

Demands.

1. Municipal fixing of low rents for workers. Rent for wage-earners should not amount to more than 10 per cent of their wages.

2. Municipally built houses should be rented to the workers without profit.

3. Tax exemption for all houses rented to wage-earners.

4. Immediate enactment of state laws providing for the abolition of the right of eviction of landlords against wage-earner tenants.

5. Compulsory repair by the landlords of all workingclass homes in bad condition.

6. Immediate establishment by municipalities of homes to shelter the unemployed.

7. Municipal aid to workers' building co-operatives.

Prohibition.

Prohibition, as it is "enforced" and violated in this country is one of the most outstanding examples of capitalist corruption and hypocrisy.

The Workers (Communist) Party takes the following stand on the prohibition issue.

Prohibition was introduced in the interests of the manufacturers. As the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Journal put it: "We believe there is no question of greater importance to American manufacturers, the great employers of labor, than prohibition." The prohibition of the consumption of liquor decreases the needs of the workers, and thus tends to decrease the price of his labor power. The introduction of prohibition was part and parcel of the big rationalization campaign of the employing class. It makes the worker more efficient, more adaptable to the machinery. It is the link in the chain of the general speed-up. The enforcement of prohibition is a typical class measure. Rich people are exempt from its enforcement. Its whole burden falls upon the proletarian elements.

Prohibition embodies in the most classic manner the basic views of the employers toward the workers. The worker gives his life not only during the working hours but all day and all the time to the capitalist. Eating, drinking and sleeping, the worker serves only one sole purpose: the maintenance of his labor power for the capitalists. The very fact that the worker consumes the food which

he buys for his wages forces him to sell his labor power again. It does concern the capitalist how the worker eats and drinks. If the worker spends his wages for liquor, if he gets drunk Sunday night, if he is not fit for work Monday morning—that does not constitute a violation of the interests of the worker but it constitutes high crime against capital—it amounts to a defraudation of the labor power which belongs to the capitalists.

These and none other are the views of the capitalists concerning the private life of the workers. Prohibition is nothing but the realization of these views.

On the other hand, the driving force behind the movement against the enforcement of prohibition, for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, is the powerful alcohol capital which still has tremendous vested interests in the beverage industry.

The "enforcement" of prohibition created a huge governmental machine of prosecutors, spies, provocateurs and courts. This machine tends to increase the power of the capitalist government and is a virtual part of its strikebreaking apparatus.

The lack of enforcement of capital prohibition has created a powerful bootlegging industry with a capital of hundreds of millions dollars. The hazards of this industry are compensated by extremely high profits. An elaborate system of an underground capitalist world is hiding itself under the surface of respectable capitalist society. It has its own spies, provocateurs and gunmen, who are often utilized against the labor movement against striking workers. The combination of the twin brothers, capitalist prohibition enforcement and capitalist bootlegging, has created an unheard of amount of corruption, crime and hypocrisy.

The stand of the republican and democratic parties on the prohibition issue is a model example of capitalist demagoguery. It is not an issue between the two parties but rather one within both. Very often from wet throats issue dry voices. The playing up of prohibition as a major political issue serves only one purpose. It covers up the lack of any real difference between the capitalist parties, and distracts the attention of the workers from the real major class issues of the toiling masses. Especially shameful is the position of the Socialist

Party of America on the prohibition enforcement, because "further persistence in this tragic farce threatens a complete breakdown of law and order." Many members of the employment class also, who favor prohibition from the point of view of capitalist efficiency, are against strict enforcement, because they realize its impossibility under present conditions and likewise are concerned lest the faith of the masses in "law and order" be shaken.

Alcoholism is one of the most terrible social diseases of capitalist society. Alcoholism is caused by capitalism itself. Insecurity of life, the monotony of standardized factory work, the low cultural level of the masses and desperate poverty are the reasons for this social disease. Only a Communist society can cure alcoholism by elevating the cultural level of the masses, by diversifying labor, by putting an end to insecurity of life, and by eradicating poverty. The struggle against alcoholism is a part of the general struggle against capitalism. Only the overthrow of capitalism will sweep away the despicable bootlegging industry and the equally despicable, corrupt, hypocritical capitalist prohibition enforcement.

Demands:

1. The Workers (Communist) Party favor the repeal of the Volstead Act and the Eighteenth Amendment.

2. Dissolution of the federal and state prohibition enforcement apparatus.

3. Energetic propaganda against alcoholism as one of the most malignant social diseases under capitalism.

Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

This is the platform of the class struggle. These are the demands the Workers (Communist) Party puts forward in the present presidential election campaign. But none of these demands, and not even the total of these demands, exhaust the program of the Communist Party. We call upon the workers to rally around the Communist Party in a relentless struggle for these demands which realized, would protect the toiling masses against the most harmful effects of capitalist capitalism. But even the realization of all these demands would not liberate the workingclass from the double yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Only the full realization of the entire program of the Communist Party can

bring about the emancipation of the working class. The Communist Party has the following aims:

The formation of the proletariat into a class;

The organization of the toiling masses in an independent political party which combats all capitalist parties;

The representation of the most general international interests of the workingclass as a whole as expressed in the principles and practice of the Communist International;

The overthrow of capitalist rule; The conquest of political power by the workingclass.

American imperialism is very powerful. Capitalism in this country is still on its upward grade, but it is becoming more and more part and parcel of world capitalism, which on the whole has entered into the last declining stage of its development.

United States imperialism will not be able to bribe broad sections of the workingclass for many more years. It is not the sole workshop in the world as Great Britain was for decades. There are other mighty imperialist powers limiting the expansion of United States imperialism, competing with it on every front. The menace of new imperialist wars, is looming up ever bigger on the horizon.

The very existence of the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union, which freed one-sixth of the earth from capitalist influence and expansion, is again a limitation to the growth of United States imperialism. The forces of the proletarian revolution are gathering in three countries, too. The more, than three million votes of the Communist Party of Germany, the over one million votes of the Communist Party of France, the election victories of the Communist Party of Poland, which, though driven underground, was able to rally the majority of the Polish workingclass—are as many indices of the growth of the legions of the workingclass revolution.

The struggle for liberation of the oppressed peoples of Asia, and the growing resistance of the suffering peoples of Latin America constitute another limitation to the upward development of United States imperialism. There are inherent contradictions within American imperialism which work with irresistible force to break up the whole system. The

anarchy created by the private ownership of the means of production results inevitably in murderous competition, crises and wars. The class character of American capitalist society must lead without fail to class wars. The sharpening contradictions within American capitalism will arouse gigantic forces which will be strong enough to overthrow it. The alliance of the 17 million industrial workers, the 10 million Negroes, and the 7 million exploited tenant farmers and agricultural workers will constitute a powerful bloc which will be able to crush the present dictatorship of the bosses.

The upheaval of these exploited and oppressed masses, who will establish a workers' and farmers' government, will organize their own state apparatus in the form of workers' councils and will break the monopoly of the capitalists over the means of production.

A Workers' and Farmers' Government of the United States will expropriate all large-scale industries, railroads, super-power plants, meat-packing plants, grain elevator combines. It will nationalize all large land estates, and will hand them over to the mortgaged and tenant farmers and agricultural workers. It will nationalize all banks and commercial institutions. A Workers' and Farmers' Government of the United States will free all American colonies immediately, will grant the right of full self-determination to all Latin-American peoples, will realize full social equality for Negroes. It will disarm the master class and will arm the working masses.

Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government! Forward by means of relentless class struggle. The Workers (Communist) Party is the party of the class struggle. It is the deadly enemy of capitalist society. It fights for the complete unity of the working class, for the united struggle of native-born, foreign-born, and Negro workers against the common enemy: trustified capital.

The Workers (Communist) Party calls upon all workers and exploited farmers to leave the old capitalist parties.

Workers and exploited farmers, vote for and join the Workers (Communist) Party!

Rally around the platform of the class struggle!

Down with capitalist rule!

Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

"YELLOW DOG" IS FORCED ON MINER

Signs Away All Rights to Operator

PITTSBURGH, Pa., May 25.—Promises to work under inhuman conditions are being signed by non-union miners who have been lured into eastern Ohio to work in mines which are attempting to reopen on a non-union basis.

The promises are employment agreements, known to the union miners as the "Yellow Dog Contract." A typical "Yellow Dog Contract" is that entered into by W. R. Coffman with the Wheeling and Lake Erie Coal Mining for employment as a machine helper at the Dillon number one mine near Dillonvale, Ohio.

Speed-Up. Coffman's contract brought to the office of the National Miners' Relief Committee extracts a promise from the "employee" as he is designated in the contract to "work faithfully and efficiently for the employer while this agreement is in force."

"The employee shall be paid at the rate prescribed in the Employer's Wage Scale hereto attached" is the first stipulation made by the contract. Coffman, working at the mine for two months to date, has seen no printed wage scale. Inquiries from guards bring him equally little information.

Covered with neat legalistic wording, the "catch" in the agreement reads: "Employer shall operate said mine during the term of this agreement, whenever, in its judgement said mine can be operated at a profit and shall make use of the employee's services hereunder to the fullest extent possible consistent with the economical operation of said mine. Employer guarantees employee hereunder at least \$50 each thirty days."

The employer also makes "sacrifices" as is demonstrated by the following clause in the agreement. "The employer agrees that it will not operate its said mine as a closed union shop during the term of its agreement with employee and that it will not enter into any agreement with any union affiliated or connected with the United Mine Workers of America."

It doesn't do for a miner to remember the phrase civil liberties once he has signed a "Yellow Dog Contract," says Coffman. The miners who breathe a word about unionism in the hearing of any company stool pigeon will find himself discharged and perhaps beaten and arrested for violation of the clause in his contract which reads: "The employee agrees that he will not . . . make any effort . . . to bring about the unionizing of employees of said mine or any other mine . . . and that he will not at any time, foment, advocate, or take part in any strike of employers' employees."

Suit of Radium Victims To Come Up On Monday

The case of the five women poisoned while working in the plant of the United States Radium Corporation will be heard at a hearing at the Orange, N. J. Chancery Court on Monday. The women contend that they were poisoned because they followed instructions to point in their mouths the brushes with which they painted the dials of watches, and have brought suit for an aggregate of \$1,250,000.

Physicians give them less than a year to live.

MINERS HOLD FAST AT MUTTON MINE

Mass Picketing Grows Stronger

(Special to The Daily Worker) ST. CLAIRSVILLE, O., May 25.—The largest mine operating under the Jacksonsville scale in eastern Ohio is on strike as a result of mass picketing conducted under the leadership of the Save-the-Union Committee since April 16. The Mutton Hollow mine of the Shady Side Coal Company near St. Clairsville, scene of a mass demonstration April 21, which resulted in the arrest of 77 pickets, including 51 women, has been closed down since Wednesday, May 23.

Forced to Act.

The strike was called by sub-district officials after miners of the Mutton Hollow pits had dropped their tools to join the strike of their union brothers who had been picketing the mine which was working by separate agreement.

Following the strikebreaking policies of the Fishwick-Lewis machine in Illinois, the sub-district officers of the union asked that the mine owners re-employ diggers who had gone out at the call of the Save-the-Unionists. When the mine owners refused to take back "any man who had left the mine because of anti-Lewis demonstrations," the sub-district officials were compelled to call the remainder of the Mutton Hollow employees out on strike.

Mass Picketing Grows.

Mass picketing at the workings has intensified since the victory scored by the Save-the-Union forces on Wednesday. New vigor is evident on the picket lines which have been held before the mine in an effort to forestall any attempt of the bosses to bring in scabs.

"We've won one victory," exclaimed Mrs. John Barto, one of the women who spent three days in the St. Clairsville Jail as a result of the April 21 demonstration. "Now we're going ahead to win our big victory against the coal operators."

YOUNG MINERS TO HOLD CONFERENCE

Prepare for Big Meet at Belleville, June 9

BELLEVILLE, O., May 21 (By Mail).—A conference of all youth delegates attending the special district convention of the United Mine Workers of America, District 12, was held during the second day of the proceedings.

Over twenty delegates from every part of the state took part in the conference. Recognizing that the young miners were not sufficiently drawn into the struggle to oust the corrupt officialdom in the union, the youth delegates took up the question of mobilizing the young miners throughout the state in some organized manner.

To Hold Enlarged Meet.

The conference went unanimously on record for the holding of an enlarged conference embracing Belleville and the surrounding territory. Organizers were selected to immediately go back into their localities and begin to work for the conference. Methods adopted for this work was the organization of young miners' groups in the local unions, conference committees, and mass meetings called to rally the young miners behind the conference.

The date for the conference has been set for June 9th to be held in Belleville, Ill., at ten o'clock in the morning. Already Local 705 in O'Fallon has endorsed the young miners' conference and has elected two delegates. The conference has also been endorsed by Local 303, Orient, Ill.

Important Role.

Gerry Allard, secretary of the provisional committee, in making his report for the convention showed how the youth in the coal mining industry have never been considered in the union activity. He pointed out how necessary the youth is in the industry and how it plays an ever greater role in the affairs of the union, making all the more necessary for the progressive forces to win over the young workers and draw them into the struggle.

Little Augie's Aide Also Slain by Rivals

Louis Fabrizio, chief aide of ex-Little Augie, notorious gangster, who was killed last October, has also been shot. Little Augie, as well as his lieutenant Louis Fabrizio are well remembered by the needle trades workers here for their activity as slugs assisting the bosses and the right wing in breaking the strikes of the garment workers here.

Fabrizio was shot during the early hours yesterday morning while fixing his automobile on 2nd St. and Ave. B.

Literature Squads and Their Functions

By A. GUSAKOFF.

It is quite some time since the literature squads were organized. They helped the Party greatly in stimulating literature sales and literature distribution. They helped to put the "Communist" on the news-stands, and in making open-air meetings as well as indoor meetings, a real success as far as the distribution of literature is concerned. They helped to activate a number of comrades, who never before paid any attention to this particular field of work. In fact, this work was considered by many of secondary importance.

A Responsible Task

Today, there are still many shortcomings, which greatly hinder our work. These shortcomings must be pointed out and corrected. One of the worst shortcomings is the fact that many, or it can be said, a great majority of the members of the literature squads do not yet understand that their work is important Party work; that by coming to meetings at the Madison Square Garden or other places to sell literature, they are functioning as a committee which is assigned this specific task, as any other important task is assigned them by the Party. However, we see the reverse. Comrades who are members of the literature squads either accept other Party work at the meetings or merely come

down as visitors ready to take in the program of the meeting as any worker, not as members of the Party. And much time is spent looking for them in the hall. This is a shortcoming which must be corrected immediately. Comrades who have certain work to perform at meetings must understand that the Party must be taken into consideration first, and then thru, they may enjoy the program. The comrades of the literature squad must remember that the literature committee depends upon their cooperation, and of course is left helpless if comrades do not report, or if they accept some other work at that meeting.

System Necessary

Another shortcoming which must be overcome is the fact that our literature agents, as well as the members of the literature squads, have not yet developed a systematic way or organizing their work. It has been pointed out many times that the literature agent of each unit is the captain of his squad. He is responsible for the work of his squad to the section literature agent and for the work of his unit in this field of activity. But we are confronted with a situation where many members of the literature squads are much more responsible than the literature agents.

We also know that whenever it is necessary to mobilize the comrades for a large meeting, the success of

which benefits not only the literature department, but the Party as a whole, we must depend upon the help of the section literature agents. This means that there is not enough initiative in the units and that the literature agents are not yet on the job. This of course must be remedied.

The unit literature agents must begin to take their work seriously, develop more initiative, watch over their squads, see that they are on the job, and that more comrades are drawn into literature work. Especially now in the summer months approaching, when many open-air meetings in the various parts of the city will be held, it will be necessary to cover all of these meetings with literature. We must emphasize the importance of the literature squads working more systematically than ever before.

RED WELCOME FEST

Arranged by the Party Members of District 2
in Honor of the Delegates to the

National Nominating Convention

of the

Workers (Communist) Party of America

to be held

TONIGHT at 8 P. M.

at the

WORKERS CENTER, 26-28 Union Square

Reservations must be made in advance. Tickets are \$1.50 per plate, and are on sale at 108 East 14th Street and 26-28 Union Square.

200 ATTEND BIG SAVE UNION MEET

WHEELING, W. Va., (By Mail).—The calling of a mass meeting at Maynard, Ohio on Monday by the sub-district officials to distract the members from a "Save the Union" meeting failed completely. Only six "loyal" members were present to hear Davis, International organizer, speak.

Not far from the Polish Hall where the six "loyal" members of the union sat and listened to the speech of Davis, the S. U. C. held their meeting and over 200 rank and file miners attended.

This shows clearly that the rank and file is with the S. U. C. and that they know that the "sweet sounding phrases" of the sub-district officials are nothing more than promises which will not be carried out.

"ICOR" TAG DAYS

For Jewish Colonization in Soviet Russia

TODAY

May 26th and 27th

Friends of the Jewish Colonization movement in Soviet Russia are urged to contribute their part and act as volunteers during these tag days.

Stations for Volunteers:

DOWN TOWN "ICOR" Office, 599 Broadway. Workers Club, 36 E. 2nd St. HARLEM 145 E. 103rd St. Unity Co-operative, 1800 — 7th Ave. BROOKLYN United Co-op. Assn., 2700 Bronx Park E. Jewish National Workers Co-op., 2771 Williamsbridge Rd. Yiddische Heim Gesellschaft Co-operative, 4451 Giles Pl. Bronx "ICOR" Branch, 1409 Boston Rd. Workers Club, 1472 Boston Rd. Sholem Aleichem School, 2075 Clinton Ave.	LOWER BRONX 715 E. 124th St. WILLIAMSBURG 29 Graham Ave. BROWNsville Arbeiter Youngest Center, 122 Osborn St. Workers Social Youth Club, 113 Bristol St. CONEY ISLAND 2301 Mermaid Ave. BRIGHTON BEACH 217 Brighton Beach Ave. BATH BEACH 1940 Benson Ave. BORO PARK 1373 — 43rd St. STATEN ISLAND 219 Victory Blvd.
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and at all Nonpartisan Workers Children's Schools.

TONIGHT PEOPLE'S "Icor" Banquet

In Celebration of the National "ICOR" Week

WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11th St.

Big Demonstration for Jewish Colonization in Soviet Russia. Many Prominent Speakers.

RICH LITERARY AND MUSICAL PROGRAM.

ADMISSION \$1.00.

Finnish Trade Union Movement Advancing

By N. WALLARI.

As a consequence of the latest efforts for the achievement of unity in the world trade union movement, the Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions has entered into the international labor movement. Finnish trade unions were represented at the Copenhagen conference last February, where with the Norwegian and Russian trade unions, the question of world unity was carefully handled. This active participation in the world union movement has, perhaps, made the Finnish trade unions objects of some interest.

Finnish Workers For Class Struggle. The central body of Finnish trade unions, the Confederation (Ammattijärjestö) was organized in 1907. At the national congress in 1920 it was decided to transform the federations from a craft to an industrial basis. Now the industrial form of organization is general. Our trade union movement is strictly for the class struggle and our organized labor as a whole is very hostile towards the principle of class collaboration.

The development of our trade union movement, as far as the numerical strength is concerned, is expressed by following figures at the end of each year:

Year	Members
1907	470
1908	608
1909	601
1910	599
1911	644
1912	639
1913	753
1914	729
1915	729
1916	770
1917	160,695
1918	Suppressed by white guards.
1919	812
1920	971
1921	909
1922	897
1923	886
1924	885
1925	840
1926	900
1927	978

The big membership in 1917 is due to the revolutionary period of that time and therefore should be taken as exceptional. Taking into account only the so-called normal times we see that the membership is now greater than ever before.

Social Democrats Fight Workers. The drop in membership after 1920 is due to the furious fight of social democrats against the trade unions. They have been very hostile towards trade unions because the rank and file took a revolutionary stand and expelled the reformist leaders from the official positions of trade unions.

In 1921 it was decided by referendum to affiliate with the Red International of Labor Unions. More than two-thirds voted for the R. I. L. U., others for independence. The Amsterdam International has hardly 20 per cent of the members of trade unions as its sympathizers. But even these workers are against affiliation with Amsterdam. It is demanded only by social democratic politicians, who are not members of any trade union. Still they are trying to dictate their will upon the great masses. In order to get the whole trade union movement under the political tutelage of the social democratic party the social democrats formed in 1926 a special organization of their own. During this year they have formed also many rival trade union organizations. By these they are trying either to split or capture our fighting trade unions. The workers regard these organizations as scab organizations.

Side by side with the social democratic politicians and leaders the white bourgeoisie has fought against our trade unions. Very often we have been denied even the most elementary civil rights. The freedom of association and assembly has been infringed time and again by authorities. A few examples may suffice to show it.

Lumber, Transport Strike. In May, 1922, the lumber and transport workers of North Finland went on strike in order to improve their miserable wage and working conditions. Some social democratic newspapers as well as those of the bourgeoisie branded the strike as Communist. All the members of the executive district body of trade unions, which was in charge of the struggle, were arrested and later on sentenced even for three years to penitentiaries. The Supreme Court of Finland approved the sentences declaring the General Confederation of Trade Unions as a criminal body. Heretofore no special action has been taken against that central body, but the judgment of Supreme Court hangs as a Damoclean sword over our trade union movement. The only ground for the decision of Supreme Court was the above described wage conflict.

On August 3rd, 1923, the authorities arrested about 300 organized workers all over the country. Among those arrested were the whole executive committee of the socialist labor party, the parliamentary fraction (27 deputies of the Diet of 200 seats) of the same party, editors of different party organs and all the most active party workers. All the nine party organs were suppressed, party offices closed and properties confiscated. In short, the whole party was suppressed.

Suppress Labor Party. In June, 1924, the Superior Court of Turku sentenced 189 of the accused to penitentiaries for terms ranging from 6 months to 11 years. They were sentenced for high treason. As the party was suppressed hundreds of trade unions that were affiliated with the party were deprived of all the rights guaranteed in the constitution of the country.

Already in the autumn of 1923 the minister of the interior ordered the authorities to suppress all the trade unions formerly affiliated with the socialist labor party. So began a general drive against our trade unions. According to the speech of Comrade Jokela, vice chairman of the General Confederation of Trade Unions, in parliament at the end of 1924, 400 trade union organizations were suppressed. These, of course, have been reorganized, but these persecutions describe how difficult is the position of our trade unions. And still the social-democratic politicians side themselves with the bourgeoisie as far as militant labor movement is concerned.

Although persecuted, our trade unions have been able to carry thru many victorious strikes during the last three years. Especially in the building industry the employers have been compelled to submit to collective agreements quite favorable to the workers. But perhaps the greatest of the struggles of recent years was the outcome of the general lock-out of metal workers that lasted for 7 months. Locked out metal workers numbered 10,000. They presented to the employers demands for higher wages, which were partly won. Most of the strikes of last years have been victorious and all the workers are convinced of the benefits of the trade union movement.

MARC LOEBELL



One of the principals in the new "Grand Street Follies"—the sixth of the series—which opens Monday night at the Booth Theatre.

Russian Players May Visit Us Soon

Berlin is welcoming a new group of young Russian actors, similar to the Moscow Art Players and the Habima Players, who came from Moscow for a stay, and may later follow their better known predecessors by coming to the United States.

These young people have established themselves in the Theatre des Wettens and have answered all expectations. Their first play—a musical comedy drama—met with even greater success than their second. The plays are given in Yiddish, but make use of old Jewish stories.

In their latest offering, "The Trip of Benjamin the Third," they have managed to combine humor and superb acting in the usual Russian manner. The company is planning to travel across the Atlantic, and its reception in America should be equal to that accorded the Moscow Art Theatre.

LUNA PARK'S 25th SEASON IN FULL SWING

Attendance for the first complete week of operation at Luna Park was good despite the somewhat cool weather which prevailed, according to Arthur Jarvis, general manager of Coney Island's amusement park. This year the park is having its Silver Jubilee, celebrating Luna's twenty-fifth anniversary.

The free circus acts consisting of John Agee, with his trained horses and bull, Martin and Martin with their aerial act; Adele Nelson and her baby elephants; together with Bill Rice Trio, clown acrobats, vied with the other attractions in entertaining the crowd. Other features include: Mexican Pete, assisted by May La Belle, "Covered Wagon Days of the Wild West"; The Mile Sky Chaser; Chateau Thierry; "Thrills," "It," "Shooting the Rapids" and the new ride "Tilt-a-Whirl."

Luna's swimming pool will open on Decoration Day. The pool will remain open until midnight this year.

PEOPLE'S CHORUS TO GIVE FREE CONCERTS

The People's Chorus of this city, L. Camilleri, conductor, will give three special concerts at Town Hall, on Thursday evenings, May 31, June 7 and June 14.

The features will be singing by units of the People's Chorus, soloists on the stage and the orchestra, demonstrations of simple sight reading and singing methods and singing by the audience. There will be a different program at each concert. Admission will be free. Invitations may be had at 41 East Forty-second street.

Broadway Briefs

Rockaway's Playland, the new amusement park, will open on Wednesday, May 30. The park has been rebuilt on the site of what was known as Thompson Park, Rockaway Beach.

Germany and Russia will soon see a new ballet, which has just been completed by Sigmund Romberg, composer of "My Maryland," and other operettas. It will be staged in Berlin this summer by Lina Marett and her ballet, and by Marion Gering at the Meyerhold Theatre, Moscow.

Vaudeville at the Broadway Theatre next week will include: Joe Wilton and Rex Weber; Abbott and Bisland; Bert Spence and Edith True; The Misses Halstead and Daniel; Johnny Herman. On the screen will be "Hangman's House," from the Donn Byrne story. June Collyer, Earle Foxe and Hobart Bosworth have important roles.

The company engaged for Channing Pollock's "Mr. Moneybags," include: Hale Hamilton, Donald Meek, Margaret Wyckoff, Catherine Dale Owen, Ruth Nugent, Frank Sylvester and Robert Vivian.

Adams and Walling rented the Frolic Theatre yesterday for their presentation of "The Fast Worker," the comedy by Fred Ballard and Charles A. Bickford, which they will present next month.

"Dorian Gray" at the Biltmore Lacks Dialectic Reasoning

At the Biltmore Theatre they are playing David Thorne's adaptation of Oscar Wilde's "Picture of Dorian Gray," staged by Augustus Thorne. Everybody else agrees that it is no good, and I do too. There are a number of minor reasons, such as the tawdry properties, the lack of rehearsal by the cast (evidenced by stumbling and forgetting of lines), the rather clumsy left-handed way that Dorian stabs his best friend, the altogether too stiff robes of the seraph in the quite superfluous prologue, the apparent discomfort of the actor in the title role, as though they had hurt his face trying to make it beautiful, etc.

But many a play has survived such things, and more likewise, if it had one grand redeeming feature. Thorne Bros. evidently placed their faith in the salacious reputation of Wilde and liberal use of his epigrams. This is where they showed a real Christian conviction that things are, "as they were in the beginning, are now, and evermore shall be." This high church theory is not true of anything, but least true of humor. When Wilde, years ago, said, "No woman can really talk, women only talk about themselves," "American girls conceal their parentage as well as English women conceal their past," "I like men with a future and women with a past," "All influence is immoral," "Bad acting is the only deadly sin," etc. (I quote from memory but have done no violence) these things sound very devilish and witty. I think the main failure of this play is the inability of the Thorne to realize that time flies, and all of Wilde's clever observations, new in their day, have been tried, theorized, in most cases refuted, and the world is tired of them. Humor that has become philosophy is detestable to the philosophy of humor.

The theatre was full of people who were attracted by the fatal fate of Oscar Wilde. They got very weepy over the sugar-sweet religious flavor which this drama, like all things meant to be wicked, like Wilde himself, never escapes.

Let's not talk about the actors. I have a sort of suspicion most of them were represented by their understudies anyway.

American Opera Company to Appear in 20 Cities

Plans for the coming season of the American Opera Company will include seasons in New York, Boston and Chicago, with proposed engagements in twenty cities between New York and the West. The company will be under new managerial and organization direction, and a number of new artists are to be added to the organizations, the announcement states.

The artistic direction continues the same as that of last season, with Vladimir Rosing as artistic director, and Frank St. Leger as musical director, and approximately the same singers, with the addition of a number of new American artists. Announcement of the cities to be visited, and of the detailed artistic personnel and repertoire for the 1928-29 season will be made shortly.

There are rumors that Richard Strauss' "Salome" will be revived at the Metropolitan next season with Maria Jeritza in the title role. Mme. Jeritza is scheduled to sing the part of Herod's daughter in San Francisco the coming summer. "Salome" was given a single performance at the Metropolitan more than twenty years ago.

SCENE FROM "THE END OF ST. PETERSBURG"



Alexis Davor, the peasant-hero, is brought before the police for assaulting the capitalist Lebedeff. A scene from "The End of St. Petersburg," the new Sovkino film which opens at Hammerstein's Theatre Monday night.

Leif Ericson's Discovery of America To Be Filmed Here

THE early discovery of America, when the Norsemen came over to the North American coast, will serve as the story of an important film now being considered for showing in the large cities. For the past five years Carl Stearns Clancy has been gathering material and collecting and condensing Icelandic sagas, recording Leif Ericson's voyage to Vineland. These will be transferred to the screen as "The Viking Ship, a Saga of Surging Seas."

Mr. Clancy plans to produce as a road show this story of America's original discovery by the Norsemen. Capt. Gerhard Folger, who two years ago sailed a forty-two foot open boat from Oslo to Philadelphia and Chicago, will serve as navigator for the fleet of Viking ships that will appear in the picture. He is now in Norway supervising the designing and construction of these ships. Only one authentic "dragon" has been built in nearly a thousand years.

Johan Bull, after six months of research work in Scandinavian museums, has designed Norse wardrobes for the cast. Emmet Crozier will adapt Mr. Clancy's original story.

Screen Notes

"Youth Astray" will be shown for the first time in America at the Cameo Theatre beginning today. Peter Ostermayr directed a cast of Germany's younger cinema talent in this production, allotting important roles to Nina Vanna, Andre Mattoni and Mary Johnson.

"Morgan's Last Raid," will be Tim McCoy's next starring picture for Metro. The story is by Madeline Ruthven and Ross Willis.

"The Veil of Happiness," will feature the program at the 55th St. Playhouse beginning this Saturday. The cast, composed entirely of Chinese, is headed by Shu-Hou, Tiang-Liang-Tchao and Jodi Li.

Two important roles have been cast for Universal's production of "Show Boat." Emily Fitzroy will play Parthenia Ann Hawks and Alma Rubens the role of Julie.

The Greenwich Village Theatre will show beginning today the Ufa special, "Decameron Nights," based on one of Boccaccio's tales. Lionel Barrymore and Werner Krauss star in the production.

Olga Baclanova, Moscow Art Theatre importation, now to be seen as the Duchess in "The Man Who Laughs," has been signed to a Paramount contract. She recently appeared with Pola Negri in "Three Sinners," and with Emil Jannings in "The Street of Sin."

F. W. Murnau has completed his second American made picture, "The Four Devils," for Fox Films. Following his work on "The Four Devils" Murnau will take a brief vacation before starting on "Our Daily Bread."

The role of Tarzan in the Universal screening of "Tarzan the Mighty" will be played by Frank Merrill. This is an adaptation of Edgar Rice Burroughs' story entitled "Jungle Tales of Tarzan."

"Stephen Tromboli's Wife," a novel by Hermann Sudermann, has been purchased by Metro and will be filmed under the title of "The Wonder of Women."

AMUSEMENTS

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS
EUGENE O'NEILL'S PLAY
STRANGE INTERLUDE
JOHN GOLDEN THEA, 58th St. E. of B'way.
Evenings only at 8:30 sharp.
Dinner Intermission at 7:30.
BEGINNING MONDAY, MAY 28
EUGENE O'NEILL'S
MARCO MILLIONS
GUILD THEATRE WEST 52nd St. Evenings 8:30.
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30.
Week of June 4: "VOLPONE."
REOPENING MONDAY, MAY 28
PORGY
A FOLK PLAY
BY DUBOSE AND DOROTHY HEYWARD
THEATRE, West 42nd St. Evs. 8:40.
Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:40.
REPUBLIC

HAMMERSTEIN'S THEATRE
Phone Col. 5350
American Premiere
NEXT MONDAY at 8:40
Seats Now
Arthur Hammerstein
presents
The Russian Film Classic
'THE END
of
ST. PETERSBURG
Music by Herbert Stothart
Russian Choir-Symphony Orchestra
Nights 8:40; 50c to \$1.50
Mats. Daily 2:40; 50c to \$1, Incl. Tax

IS THIS JAZZ AGE
TO BLAME
FOR
"YOUTH ASTRAY"
Powerful, Gripping Drama
of Modern Youth
KEITH ALBEE
AMERICAN
PREMIERE
NOW
42nd St. & 6th Ave

48th St. Thea. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
LEONID ANDREYEV'S Masterpiece
Waltz of the Dogs
The Heart of Coney Island
Battle of Chateau-Thierry
MILE SKY CHASER
TILT-A-WHirl Free Circus, Con-
certs and Dancing
Luna's Great Swimming Pool

Winter Garden Evs. 8:30. Mats.
Tues. & Sat.
Greenwich Village Follies
GREATEST OF ALL REVUES.

CHANNING'S 46th St. W. of Broadway
Mats. Wed. & Sat.
SCHWAB and MANDEL'S
MUSICAL SMASH
GOOD NEWS
with GEO. OLSEN and HIS MUSIC

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NEW PLAYS
"THE GRAND STREET FOLLIES," (sixth edition) revue, will open Monday night at the Booth under the sponsorship of the Actor-Manager. The principals include Albert Carroll, Otto Hulet, Marc Loebell, Lily Lubell, Harold Minjir, Mae Noble, Dorothy Sands, J. Blake Scott and Paula Trueman. The book is by Agnes Morgan; the music is by Max Ewing, Sergio Walter and others. Aline Bernstein designed the sets and costumes.
"DIPLOMACY," Sardon's famous melodrama, comes to the Erlanger Theatre Monday evening. The all-star cast is headed by Margaret Anglin, Frances Starr, William Faversham, Jacob Ben-Ami, Helen Gahagan, Rolfe Peters, Cecilia Loftus, Charles Coburn, Tyrone Power, Gertrude Cohan, George Renavent and Antony Holles.
"PORGY," the Negro folk play by Dubose and Dorothy Heyward, will play a return engagement at the Republic Theatre opening Monday night. The cast remains the same.

JUNE NUMBER of the
COMMUNIST
Contents:
A Programme of Action for America—by John Pepper.
The Labor Movement in America—by Frederick Engels.
The Mining Crisis Deepens—by Wm. Z. Foster.
The Economics of American Agriculture—Richman.
The Youth Movement and Six Years of the Young Workers League—by Herbert Zam.
De Leonism and Communism—by Karl Reeve.
BOOK REVIEWS.
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
39 E. 125th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

Misha Levitzki, the pianist, returned last week from Europe for a brief visit home. His first European tour included nearly fifty appearances and embraced England, Germany, Italy, France, Holland, Sweden and Norway. Levitzki will spend part of the summer here and will leave for Europe in August returning to this country next January for an American tour.
J. C. and Elliott Nugent, are to appear in their own comedy, "By Rehearsal," which George M. Cohan placed in rehearsal next week. Reports from Boston indicate "Fast" Leonora Sparkes with Frederick Cheeswright will offer an evening of Schubert program on tour next season, featuring the composer's songs and piano compositions.

No Wage Cuts---Merely "Reducing Labor Expense"

By SCOTT NEARING.

There have been no "wage cuts" in Springfield, Massachusetts. Estimates place the number of unemployed at 21,000. The Westinghouse plant, which ordinarily employs 6,000 workers, has only about 3,000 on the payroll. Part time, reductions in piece rates, shifts of workers from department to department and from job to job have been frequent. Thousands of Springfield shop hands are making less per hour and per week than they made a year ago or even six months ago, but there have been no wage cuts. The bosses are too clever to cut wages. They are merely "reducing labor costs."

Labor Saving Machinery. How are they bringing this about? First, by the extensive introduction of machinery that converts skilled workers into machinery tenders. Skilled craftsmen are being replaced every day by labor-saving devices. The craft worker, with years of training, finds himself on the labor market, rubbing elbows with a boy directly from the farm who exceeds the craft worker in youth, health, vitality.

Even where there have been no new machines the same process of cutting labor costs is in full swing.

I spoke with one die-maker who had been earning 75 cents per hour in a Westinghouse shop. He was laid off his die-making job and shifted to another Westinghouse plant.

"What work did you get in the new plant?" I asked.

"Assembler of radio sets."
"Did you get full time work?"
"Yes."
"At what rate?"

"Fifty cents an hour."
Another die-maker also earning 75 cents an hour had been transferred to another department in the same plant. He was a die-repairer in the new department.

"How much wages did you get on the new job?"
"Sixty-five cents an hour."
Several other men told the same story.

Out of date bosses like those in New Bedford might cut wages. Not the bosses of Springfield machine shops! They dealt with their workers man by man.

Some walked the streets.
Skilled Jobs Vanish.
Some saw their skilled jobs and their "high" wages vanish over night. They joined the factory mass workers.

Others, laid off at one wage-rate and re-employed at another, found less money in the pay envelope.

Springfield is an open shop town. The workers have no organization to which they may turn for protection. While cartings have been falling, speed has increased; the pace has grown harder.

Workers with families have bought, on the installment plan: houses, furniture, equipment, clothing. Prices remain high. Income falls. Payments cannot be met. The workers lose their purchases as well as their part payments.

There have been no wage cuts in Springfield. There will be none. The workers are already doing more work for less money and when the present cycle is completed their standards will be definitely lowered, while the incomes of the bosses will be larger and surer.

MAXIM GORKI WRITES TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

(Published in "Pravda" March 23, 1928.)

Sorrento, January 29, 1928.

My Dear Friend:

I have read the "Letter of the Russian Writers Living in Russia." I doubt very much whether the letter was actually written by Russian writers. These could not possibly have said that the "classics are forbidden in Russia." Only recently the State Publishing House issued a splendid edition of all of Dostoevsky's works, including even his counter-revolutionary "Demons"; as well as the whole of Pushkin and Gogol. They are preparing for publication the works of Turgeniev, as well as a complete edition of Tolstoy's works in ninety volumes (edited by Tolstoy's friend, Chertkov). Today there are published in the Soviet Union the selected works of Bunin himself, as well as of Kuprin and Shmeliev. Nor have they forgotten old writers like Mamin-Sibirskii and Garin-Mikhailovskii.

From the reports of the public libraries, where Tolstoy and Dostoevsky occupy leading places, the Russian writers know very well that the classics are not forbidden in Russia. Every year young Russian writers visit me. How could they be "dying of hunger" and yet take distant journeys abroad? It seems to me I have the honor of enjoying the full confidence of these writers. In intimate conversations with them I have asked them: What group of Russian writers could have made such charges against the Soviet Government? For reply I received only a skeptical shrug of the shoulders.

You say you have been informed that Russia has no literature. What a strange statement! I am astonished at the tremendous fertility of the new Russian literature, of the new writers, of whom there are hundreds and whose number is increasing. This confirms my deep faith in the creative powers of my Russian people. The Russian people are beginning to acquire self-consciousness, are beginning to understand its right to the free development of its creative powers in all walks of life.

This year alone has brought us several talented writers from whom one can expect great work. These are: Fadeyev, who has written a novel called "Destruction"; Leonid Borisov, Nina Smidova, and the poet N. Tichonov, who has written a fine book. I could also mention a long list of important new Russian writers. There are, for example, Leonid Leonov, Babel, Vsevolod Ivanov (who at present edits the magazine "Krasnyy Novy"), although he is not a Communist. All of these have made a niche for themselves; as have also Constantine Fedin, Vladimir Lidin, Boris Pilniak, Serge Semenov (a worker gifted with an original talent and influenced by Knute Hamsun); Zoschenko, who wastes himself on short stories, but none the less has talent; there is no doubt that he is gradually progressing from humor to satire. There is also Kataev, the author of "Wastrels," who writes in the Gogol manner; and the rapid growth of Jakovlev and Kaverine; and so on and so forth.

It is not necessary to list all those who deserve not only to be mentioned but also to be praised. Of non-revolutionary writers I could mention a whole list: Sergeev, Tsenski, Michael Prishvin, Constantine Treniov, Nikandrov, Veresaev, Ivan Volgov, Olga Forsk, Alexi Chavichin (who recently published his splendid novel "Stenka Razin"), the poet Serge Klitchkov (who writes much and well); Alexi Tolstoy (who works sincerely and remains a marvelous story teller) and Ivan Novikov (who has just issued a volume of stories).

In my opinion there are now at the head of Russian literature two extraordinary artists: Serge Tsenski and Michael Prishvin. The latter has sent you his novel, "The Pursuit of Happiness." Undoubtedly I have omitted to mention many other talented authors. I have not had a chance to read everything, and besides I do not wish to burden you with a list of all the writers. I have also omitted mentioning the poets, among whom there are many well known talents like Pasternak, Tichonov, Asseyev, Shcharov, Kazin, Selvinski, Oreshin, and others.

There is also being created a new

literature among the peoples of the Caucasus, among the Circassians and Ossetins as well as among the Tartars of Kazan. Yes, a beautiful literature flourishes and is developing today in the Soviet Union. I am enthusiastic about it, and regret that Europe pays so little attention to this great literary movement and takes no interest in these creative forces; it is more inclined to seek for sins, to show enmity, not knowing and not wishing to know the good which is there.

It's possible (I recognize it myself) that the good does not yet exist as extensively as we should like to see it; but one must not forget that Russia is a country of 150,000,000 people, that only ten years have passed since the Russian people suddenly began to live a cultural life and began to grasp the idea of culture. There are already in the Soviet Union villages which have only 140 inhabitants and subscribe to 32 publications. Newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and scientific publications are issued in thousands of copies.

I am convinced that the hundreds of writers in prose and verse who are now functioning in the literary field will within five or ten years become brilliant stylists.

M. GORKI.

P. S.—The "Letter of Russian Writers," which has created such a furore in the foreign press, has been repudiated by the trade union of Russian writers. In the ranks of this organization are all the writers of all the nationalities in the Soviet Union. With the exception of myself, there is not in Russia, as far as I know, a single writer who is not a member of this trade union.

—M. G.

A Craftsman in Fiction of Nice Details

THE CLOSED GARDEN. By Julian Green. Harpers. \$2.50.

Reviewed by EDWIN ROLFE.

IN this, his second novel published within a year, Julian Green definitely proves himself to be a master literary craftsman. Written with a tireless realism that takes in the most infinitesimal details, the minutiae of its characters' lives, the book attains in its wholeness a certain power and dignity which places it above the literariness of the novel which are continually flooding the book market. Its style is straightforward and sustained, its story simple and complete. The author limits himself to a definite narrative, and exploits the characters and situation of that narrative to its utmost. He affects no pseudo-esthetic poses; he indulges in none of the petty methods of so-called modern sophisticated writers. When the story ends, he does not continue and embellish it in a weak diminuendo. The bottle filled, he sensibly corks it, and leaves it complete.

The story concerns itself with the depiction of the decay of an ordinary bourgeois family in a little town in France. Adrienne Mesurat grows up under the tyrannical surveillance of an invalid spinster sister and a retired self-satisfied father, who frustrate her attempts to make contacts with the people around her. Until her eighteenth year she bears the burden of an inhuman solitude, that finds its only expression in morbidity. Then she falls in love with a man more than twice her age, whom she glimpses from a distance in the street one day. Not knowing him, she sustains this irrational attraction with a thousand self-illusions. Discovering this, her father makes her a prisoner in the house. The culmination of this comes when she accidentally kills her father. Then, when she confesses her love to the man and is told that it is not reciprocated, she becomes completely mad.

There is only one fault to be found in "The Closed Garden." The characters live in a world completely their own, unaffected and undetermined even to the slightest degree by anything at all except their own limitations. This, actually, is an impossibility. But the treatment of this limited sphere is so excellent that the author may be forgiven for it.

MEMOIRS OF HAYWOOD

Autobiography To Be Published Soon

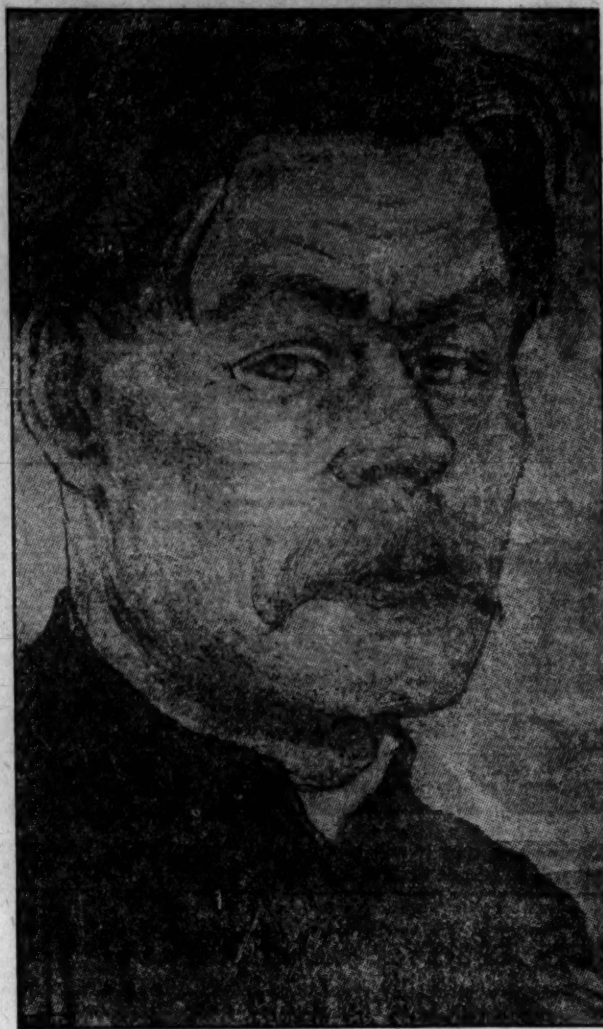
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS, who are preparing for publication in June the memoirs of William D. Haywood, who died last week, were informed by their Moscow representative that the remaining chapters of his manuscript had been dispatched to New York.

The book, upon which Haywood has been working during the recent years, is autobiographical. Starting with a description of his boyhood days in Utah, he tells the story of his apprenticeship to a farmer at the age of eleven and his going to work in a mine at fifteen, when he joined the miners' union, of which he was destined later to become the leader.

The struggles in the western states, the famous Moyer-Haywood-

Pettibone case, in which he, together with the other officers of the Western Federation of Miners, were charged with the killing of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, of which they were acquitted, his left wing fight against the officials of the socialist party in 1912, which led to his expulsion from the National Executive Committee and later from the party, his activities in the I. W. W., the position he and his organization took during the war, the trial of the more than 100 members of the I. W. W., his conviction and his joining of the Communist Party, his life in exile in Soviet Russia during the past seven years—all these stages in his life and activities in the American labor movement are intimately described in this book.

Maxim Gorki



GREAT ARCTIC EXPLORER

Roald Amundsen Deflates Some Braggarts

ROALD AMUNDSEN; My Life As An Explorer. Doubleday, Doran & Co. \$3.50.

Reviewed by N. SPARKS

ROALD AMUNDSEN is the last of the true Arctic explorers, the honored list headed by the names of Henry Hudson, Sir John Franklin and the other seekers of the Northwest Passage, down to Dr. Nansen, Shackleton, Scott and Amundsen himself and the conquest of the North and South Poles. The Arctic explorers have been a peculiar race. Necessarily they were nearly all naval officers and fairly jingoistic, and their expeditions bore to a certain extent a militaristic stamp. For the most part, however, they were true scientists, deep students of the technique of travel over Arctic ice, and physically perfect specimens, ready to endure incredible hardships for the sake of science and whatever honor they could get. Air travel, however, and the general decadence of capitalism, have put an end to the line. In place of Nansen, Amundsen and Scott, the "heroes" of the present expeditions are the upstart Byrd, a naval aviator who knows nothing whatever about the Arctic, and the fascist monkey-on-a-stick Noble who knows still less. Expeditions by such as these represent little more than great advertising schemes for their respective military machines.

The present book seems to have been written by Amundsen chiefly with an eye to vindicating himself before the American public after his recent troubles, financial and otherwise. Here he tells how he came to be an explorer, describes his apprentice trip to the Antarctic where he served with Dr. Cook, and tells how he finally realized the dream of centuries (emptied by now of any economic utility) of discovering and navigating the Northwest Passage. There is a short account of the dash to the South Pole, of the airplane flight with Ellsworth, and an extended ventilation of the difficulties with Noble on the dirigible flight over the North Pole.

Amundsen takes the time to explode the myth of the "sportsmanship" of the British ruling class. He recounts how the prize of \$100,000 offered by the British Government for the discovery of the Northwest Passage was divided between two Englishmen, neither of whom had actually been thru it, and how Lord Curzon (the author of the famous ultimatum to Soviet Russia) publicly sneered at his discovery of the South Pole at a banquet in London.

The uninhabited wastes of the North and South Poles support no people that can be exploited, nor do they contain any known natural resources. Nor was Amundsen a naval officer, and none of his expeditions were sponsored by any navy or government. As a consequence he had a constant terrific struggle to finance his expeditions, and had steady uphill going, except during the war when for a time he became a shipowner and sat content to exploit the danger of others, and then in 1917-18 when he allowed himself to become a tool of

LIBERTY AND OTHER CHARMING ILLUSIONS

LET FREEDOM RING. By Arthur Garfield Hays. Boni & Liveright. \$2.50.

Reviewed by SENDER GARLIN.

"INDIGNATION boils my blood," writes Hays, "at the thought of the heritage we are throwing away; at the thought that, with few exceptions, the fight for freedom is left to the poor, forlorn and defenseless, and to the few radicals and revolutionaries who would make use of liberty to destroy, rather than to maintain, American institutions."

The author of this book with its ironic title is a busy New York lawyer. He files briefs for influential corporations, supervises the writing of last wills and testaments for aged and wealthy clients, and negotiates the transfer of valuable real estate in various parts of Manhattan Island. He is quick-witted, fluent and persuasive. Also, he gets lots of publicity in the newspapers.

"Let Freedom Ring" narrates some half dozen cases with which Hays happened to be connected between the years 1922 and 1927. They include the notorious Scopes Evolution trial where W. J. Bryan crooned his great faith in obscurantism, made his heavenly valedictory and died several days later; the murder trial of Dr. Ossian H. Sweet, Negro physician of Detroit, who shot in self-defense following an attack on his home by a gang of Nordic roddies who objected to his moving into an "exclusive" neighborhood; the suppression of the play, "The Captive," and the attempt to ban The American Mercury in Boston.

Intense and dramatic are the chapters dealing with the activities of the coal and iron police in the coal regions in Pennsylvania and the eleventh-hour attempts to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair.

Hays naively divides the world into two classes: "tyrants" and "lovers of liberty." He quotes copiously from the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, and ringing words from the dissenting judicial opinions of Justices Holmes and Brandeis.

The author's chief argument is based upon the theory that "those in power have so little faith in our institutions that they fear that American would be corrupted by radical propaganda to a point where they would rush to overthrow their institutions."

Hays likes the capitalist system. He complains ruefully that "radicals would make use of liberty to destroy American institutions." Of the existence of a fundamental class relation Hays seems "not to have the slightest suspicion, however. Coal operators in Pennsylvania who refuse

"Rewards" of Genius Under Capitalism

By HENBY.

"YOU can't socialize geniuses or inventors."

This is one of the pet arguments of the individualists against the possibility of a Communist state of society. They cling to the idea that the creation of work of art, and the invention of new wonders in the realm of science and mechanics, come fully formed from the brains of certain god-like men and women.

"Communists cannot change that," say the defenders of the status quo; and they feel confident they have settled the matter.

So it is always interesting to note proofs that, even in our present capitalist state, inventions are actually communal things, and that most of our world-famous inventors have gained their great reputations not from their own achievements alone, but from having credited to them the discoveries of countless unknown workers, great and small.

For instance, a few weeks ago a New York newspaper printed a story in which it named Thomas A. Edison as the inventor of the stock ticker. Immediately they received two letters of protest. One claimed that the ticker had been invented by a man named Scott. The other claimed that the ticker had been invented by one, Callaghan. The truth is that Callaghan first patented the stock ticker, and later Scott patented some improvements on it. Then about a dozen years later Edison came forth with a ticker which infringed on the former patents, and he was sued by Callaghan and had to pay large damages. But he bided his time, and when the Callaghan patent expired, he slipped in with his own improvements and gained control of the patent rights—and, that is more important, control of the market.

And like every other worker the inventor in our present order is given a minimum wage while he is in his prime, and is discarded in his old age. The benefits of his genius go to mankind and the profits to the capitalists who own his patents. Under Communism not only would society benefit by the inventor's labors, but it would get all the benefit and not merely what the exploiters found it profitable to give. Incidentally, the inventor himself would be provided for along with his other fellow workers.

Reader Praises Burck's Cartoons

To Feature Editor:

As a reader of THE DAILY WORKER, I was very glad to see that A. B. Magill accorded Fred Ellis the recognition which his splendid work deserves. I believe, however, he was not quite just to the work of Jacob Burck, who has contributed a number of excellent cartoons to the 1928 book.

Burck's cartoon on the St. Francis dam break was one of the best that the paper has ever run, I believe, both for political content and drawing.

Fraternally yours,
JOHN RAMBURG.

UNCONSCIOUS 4 MONTHS. CLEVELAND, May 25.—Helen Puschmann, 19, a sophomore at Lake Erie College, Painesville, has been unconscious for more than four months as a result of injuries sustained when struck by a bus last January. Food is being administered in liquid form.



ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

to permit strike meetings in company-owned towns are "tyrants," according to Hays. Massachusetts judges, university presidents and millionaire governors who sanction the murder of two foreign-born workers are "intolerant."

Does it seem surprising, then, to learn that Hays actually approached a number of Pennsylvania businessmen and lawyers (pensioners of the former) with the proposal to form a branch of the American Civil Liberties Union in order to fight for "free speech" for the terrorized coal miners?

I suggest to Mr. Hays that he turn to Page 316 of his own book and read carefully the following paragraph: "Sacco and Vanzetti were realists. They were not deluded. To most of us, the trial was a farce; the result an atrocious miscarriage of justice. To them, it was a logical outcome. They were victims in class war...."

"I am a New York attorney. My business chiefly centers in corporate and commercial matters." (Page 120.)

Propaganda For Schools

(Federated Press)

Responding to "hundreds of demands from schools," Standard Oil has obligingly put the "facts of the oil industry" into a booklet which reprints, however, from using oil as a title. "Petroleum" is mailed free for use in schools, following the example of National Electric Light Assn., which sees to it that pupils have desirable information on the power trust and its activities.

Antisemitism and the World Proletariat

ONE of the worst forms of national enmity is antisemitism, that is to say, racial hostility towards the Jews, who belong to the Semitic stock (of which the Arabs form another great branch). The Czarist autocracy raised the hunt against the Jews in the hope of averting the workers' and peasants' revolution. "You are poor because the Jews fleece you," said the members of the Black Hundreds; and they endeavored to direct the discontent of the oppressed workers and peasants away from the landlords and the bourgeoisie and to turn it against the whole Jewish nation. Among the Jews, as among the other nationalities, there are different classes. It is only the bourgeois strata of the Jewish race which exploit the people, and these bourgeois strata plunder in common with the capitalists of other nationalities. In the outlying regions of Czarist Russia, where the Jews were allowed to reside, the Jewish workers and artisans lived in terrible poverty and degradation, so that their condition was even worse than that of the ordinary workers in other parts of Russia.

The Russian bourgeoisie raised the hunt against the Jews, not only in the hope of diverting the anger of the exploited workers, but also in the hope of freeing themselves from competitors in commerce and industry.

Of late years, anti-Jewish feeling has increased among the bourgeois classes of nearly all countries. The bourgeoisie in other countries besides Russia can take example from Nicholas II. In the attempt to inflame anti-Jewish feeling, not only in order to get rid of rival exploiters, but also in order to break the force of the revolutionary movement. Until recently, very little was heard of antisemitism in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. Today, even British ministers of state sometimes deliver antisemitic orations. This is an infallible sign that the bourgeois system in the west is on the eve of a collapse, and that the bourgeoisie is endeavoring to ward off the workers' revolution by throwing Rothschilds and Mendelssohns to the workers as sopas. In Russia, antisemitism was in abeyance during the March revolution, but the movement regained strength as the civil war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat grew fiercer; and the attacks on the Jews became more and more bitter in proportion as the attempts of the bourgeoisie to recapture power proved fruitless.

(From A. B. C. of Communism. Workers Library.)

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United States--'Friend' of China

The complicated play of imperialist politics and war strategy in China leaves many readers in confusion about the relationships between Japanese imperialism, United States imperialism and the various so-called "nationalist" military leaders. Conflicting interests in the Pacific and in China leading towards war between the United States and Japan are causing many to assume that the depredations of Japanese imperialism in China will be resisted by the United States.

It is true that a sharp conflict of interests between the United States capitalists and those of Japan points toward a future war, and it is true that some of these conflicting interests are to be found in China. The effect of the Japanese declaration in regard to its predominating interests in Manchuria, and Kellogg's reply to the effect that the United States does not recognize the predominance of such Japanese interests, is to sharpen the impression of the conflict between the two imperialist governments.

But this taken alone is too simple a picture. The existence of the conflict of interests does not alter the fact that the United States is now, with arms, aiding the Japanese depredations and violence in China. The imperialist United States is no less an enemy of the Chinese masses than imperialist Japan, and the two enemies of the Chinese masses have interests which coincide as well as other interests which conflict.

When Kellogg blurted out that his Wall Street masters recognize no special interests of Japan in Manchuria, the Japanese government responded with the informal remark that this has nothing to do with her, as she claimed no such interests—a statement which, though untrue, indicates present collaboration between Japan and the United States against China.

The predatory imperialist government at Washington has not suddenly become the redeemer of oppressed peoples. There are some indications that Wall Street has even a considerable satisfaction in the present course of Japan.

Not only can the Wall Street government find gratification in the pressure of Japanese imperialism on the Manchurian borders of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, but it is entirely possible for the Wall Street government to be reconciled to the operations of Japanese troops for a certain time, provided these operations do not transcend certain limits fixed between the two rival imperialisms. For instance, an editorial in last Monday's N. Y. Times declared:

"... Japanese influence has been sufficiently strong to isolate that section from the evil effects of China's civil wars. By maintaining peace in Manchuria, and by operating the South Manchurian Railway with a high degree of efficiency, the Japanese have made of this portion of China a haven of refuge and prosperity."

"That Japan would use her influence—and her troops, if need be—in order to prevent the extension of the civil war into Manchuria has always been obvious. Her formal statement to this effect is only disappointing if it is to serve as the starting-point of a new policy under which Japan would work for the ultimate annexation of Manchuria."

No one should forget that the so-called nationalist generals, Chiang Kai-shek, Feng Yu-shiang, Yen Shi-shan and Li Chai-sun have long ago severed their last threads of connection with the cause of national independence of China and are now serving only as adventurous traders in blood with the foreign imperialist powers.

The capitalist press correspondents will continue to write of Chiang Kai-shek as the "nationalist" leader and of the United States as a friend of the same cause, but intelligent workers here will understand that the only forces which can defend the Chinese masses are the worker-peasant armies such as are meeting with considerable success in reviving the revolutionary cause in the vicinity of Swatow.

Only the movement of these masses under the hegemony of the Chinese working class can embody the Chinese revolution. Against these masses the United States forces will use every instrument of violence and trickery.

The ruling classes of the United States and of Japan will some time call upon the masses of these countries to slaughter each other for the profit of the rival imperialisms, but they are now calling upon the masses of both countries to support the endless bloody crimes of both imperialisms against the Chinese workers and peasants.

The enemy which the American workers must fight, in respect to China, is the imperialist government of the United States not less, but even more, than that of Japan.

BUILDING TRADE JOB NOTES; PLUMBER VOTE

It's the little things that count, runs an old saying. I am going to write about the hits and bits that occurred on my job for the past few days.

A carpenter who came to ask the boss for a job, asked him among other questions, "How is business?"

"Not so good," replied the boss. "Why?" asked the workers. "A boss doesn't make much money nowadays. In former years, the bosses made more money, now the workers take good pay and are too independent," said the carpenter boss.

"Then," said the worker, "why don't you go to work for a boss?" "I am too old to work and will have to spend my days as a boss," was the reply. And so ended that conversation.

A lather told me that 800 men are out of work in the Brooklyn lathers' local. Those who work do so on an average of two days per week.

The plumbers on our job were discussing the coming elections of Local No. 1, which will be held next month. I learned that there is great dissatisfaction with the present officers of Local No. 1.

The present officials were elected as "progressives" but they betrayed the plumbers in the new agreement of Local No. 1 and the Brooklyn Mar-

"CLEARING UP"



The state of Pennsylvania announces that it will conduct an "investigation" into the cause of the Mather mine explosion. In the meantime the pit will be turned back to the operators so the evidence may be "cleared up."

How Far Does the Frame-Up of Bonita Go?

By SIDNEY BLOOMFIELD.

Sam Bonita, militant president of local 1703 U. M. W. of A., the victim of a most disgraceful frame-up, was not in the pen from six to twelve years. Bonita is not the victim of the direct capitalist forces alone. People who have enjoyed the confidence of Bonita have worked against his best interests. Sam has been betrayed by those in whom he trusted.

A Militant Miner.

Sam is a simple worker who is fanatically religious and who is never without a bible in his pocket. Yet he is an honest and militant rank and file worker who was in the forefront of the struggle against the contractor system and associated with the progressive forces in his local who, on the basis of the struggle for the Save-the-Union program, had swept all reactionaries out of office. This victory of the progressives was not accepted ungrudgingly by the reactionary elements and contractors. They at once instituted a reign of terror hardly paralleled in the annals of the labor movement. One after another, Tom Lillis, Peter Reilly, Alex Campbell, and Sam Greco—all progressive officials were, excepting Greco, fatally shot from ambush by hired gun-men.

Sam Bonita, who was trapped and fired on by Frank Agati, a reputed contractor, bully and personal bodyguard of Cappelini, returned fire, thus putting an end to the depredations of this gunman. Bonita, together with his colleagues Adam Moleski and Steve Mendola were arrested. Judge McClean, who is also a general in the army, inflicted the maximum sentence upon Sam. Mendola and Moleski, who were held as accessories, were mysteriously released on the eve of the local elections on \$10,000 bail each. The de-

fense committee which carried on splendid work in their behalf as well as in behalf of Bonita was neither advised or consulted about the matter of their release, bail being posted thru an arrangement between the lawyers, politicians and the so-called friends of the defendants. Knowing that they were popular men, the forces at work for state senator-elect Lanning Harvey utilized this release as political campaign material for the capitalist candidates.

Together with the I. L. D., the defense committee realized that a victory for Bonita means a victory for the progressive rank and file and a defeat for the contractor system as well as a defeat for all the enemies of the labor movement. With this conviction that the fight to save Bonita is a fight for the whole working class, the committee labored unceasingly, exhausting every means trying to appeal the case. But every avenue was barricaded against the committee whose labors were in vain.

Lawyers Betray.

After having paid \$3700 to the defense lawyers, Frank Flannery, Harold Flannery, and John Dando, the committee held several fruitless conferences with them. Each time they refused to appeal the case, giving as their excuse that they did not want to be scoffed at by the court since there were no legal grounds for an appeal. At each conference we were told by the lawyers to keep quiet, not to rouse mass sentiment and in a year or more from now they would go to the pardon board and ask for a pardon if we would pay them the remainder of \$5,000. Needless to say, a pardon will not be given so simply to Bonita in a state so hostile to labor.

After going thru much red tape I finally gained admission to the Luzerne county jail, where I talked with Sam for about a half hour. Sam had

been scared stiff by the lawyers, Frank McGarry, James Kearney, and the rest of the Brennan men. All of them, supposed to be close friends of Bonita, have betrayed his confidence in them. They kept coming to see him almost daily, and they were permitted to stay with him as long as they desired, while the members of the committee who were sincerely active in his behalf, were very rarely admitted and only a few minutes each time, which made it almost impossible to talk to Bonita. I was the only representative of the committee who stayed a half hour with him.

McGarry, Kearney and the lawyers kept telling Sam if he dared to appeal to higher courts he would be re-tried and convicted of first degree murder and the consequence would be that he would receive a much worse sentence. These lawyers and his so-called friends knew that they were lying to Sam. I tried to convince Sam that such advice was plain treachery and that there must be a reason for this anxiety to keep him in prison until everybody would forget about him. Altho we could not convince Sam to authorize us to engage new counsel and to carry on thru an appeal, the reason for all this concern about Bonita upon the part of the lawyers and his so-called friends soon came to light.

Why did McGarry and Kearney take such pains to visit Sam so frequently and always to counteract the committee's work? Why were the lawyers visiting Sam almost daily and staying with him for hours at a time? Were they really so vitally concerned about him? Why did Sam agree to take one of our committeemen to see Sam, only to break this promise and then after himself talking to Sam for two hours, tell us that Sam does not want to see anyone? Why were they so anxious

for Sam not to appeal but to wait more than a year and then ask for a pardon? Why were Moleski and Mendola released upon bail on the eve of the election with the strict injunction by Judge McClean to stay out of union activities?

Guilt of Brennan Gang.

Why did the lawyers appear at the jail every time a committee-man tried to get in to see Sam? Why was the warden so anxious to know what Harold Flannery and I were talking about after I had talked with Bonita? Why did McGarry, Kearney and the rest of the Brennanites work together with the lawyers and against the committee? Why does Brennan want to investigate the murder of Campbell, Lillis and Reilly and also the killing of Agati? Does not Brennan know that Agati was the enemy of Campbell, Lillis and Reilly, and that even a capitalist jury stood 11 to 1 for acquittal of Bonita? What does Brennan want to investigate about Cappelini's gunman Agati?

These Brennan people know that Bonita is a popular figure and is with the Save-the-Union forces and if Bonita were out of jail, McGarry would lose his job as president of local 1703, and that Bonita would be the logical man to replace Cappelini, thus preventing Brennan from getting the office of the district presidency. In short, the whole Brennan machine as well as the Cappelini-Lewis machine would be most likely defeated if Bonita were out today. Brennan, McGarry, Kearney, the lawyers—all of them are well aware of this. That is why they are all so keenly interested in lying to and keeping Sam in jail. The betrayal of Sam Bonita must be placed where it belongs—at the door of the Brennan gang in league with the lawyers, contractors and the Lewis gang.

Illinois Miners Are Again in Control of Their Union

By GERRY ALLARD.

The district convention, called by the rank and file miners of Illinois, has accomplished the necessary steps to save and rebuild their union. Two hundred and forty-nine delegates from 78 local unions gathered at Belleville to take up the problems that were confronting them and to oust the reactionaries from leadership. The spirit of the convention was very high as reflected by the rank and file who time after time pointed out the necessity of taking these steps to save the union.

At this convention no millionaire labor leader appeared. No pot-bellied, diamond-studded labor faker infested the atmosphere of the convention. The Lewises, Fishwicks, Greens, Farringtons, were not present at this convention. Toughened, grim, determined coal diggers gathered there to report their grievances, to oust the reactionary machine, to rebuild their union into an organization which will help rally the miners of America to immediate action against the onslaught of the coal operators.

Elect Voyzey President.

George Voyzey, local union 413 of Springfield, was elected president of the United Mine Workers of America, District 12. Luke Coffee, the chairman of the convention was elected vice-president. Coffee is the fighting president of local union 705, O'Fallon and resides in Belleville.

Daniel H. Slinger, of Belleville was elected secretary-treasurer. The new officer were elected unanimously and were greeted by thunderous applause.

Greetings to the convention were received from John Brophy, whose illness has recently kept him from active participation in the miners' fight. His message was received with an ovation. Greetings were also received from Tony Minerich, Mother Bloor, Thomas Meyerscough, from the Indiana State Convention, Powers Haggood and many others.

The reactionaries of district 12, led by Walter Nesbit, the former secretary-treasurer, formed a picket line several blocks away from the convention and tried to divert the miners from attending.

The first night of the convention was marked by a fist fight that occurred at a restaurant when George Voyzey, Freeman Thompson and John Watt were attacked by 15 sluggers led by Nesbit. The three militant fighters succeeded in routing the thugs. In the skirmish Nesbit suffered a black eye and several other marks. Thompson was badly slugged. The next day following the fight the three militants who had been arrested and released from prison were greeted by the delegation.

Henchmen Exposed.

The indictment against the machine officials charged them with conspiracy with the operators beginning with Frank Farrington. The policies of the betrayer, Farrington have never been changed. Harry Fishwick worked in conjunction with Farrington in every respect. "The Fishwick machine has continued these policies begun by Farrington and approved by the Lewis machine," the indictment read "to the point of splitting the union, losing all the conditions won through hard fought battles of the

past, dividing the Illinois miners against themselves, and completely selling out to the operators by working hand in hand with them to smash the union." The policy of separate agreements after the rank and file had issued a mandate opposing separate agreements, was bitterly condemned. "The policy of separate agreements is a policy of destruction," was the statement of the indictment.

Brand Sell-Out.

The contract extended to the operators by the officialdom giving the bosses unlimited rights on the mechanical loaders, conveyors, and other machinery tending to increase unemployment amongst the miners, the weakness of the officialdom to fight the case of the miners, stealing of votes, packing of conventions, expelling militant miners, the railroad-ping of the miners from Ziegler to prison, and several other indictments were branded in the charges against the reactionary labor fakers. The convention then proceeded to elect its own officers.

A resolution was unanimously adopted abolishing the appointive power of officials, abolishing the district executive board, and a committee to direct the work of the miners in district 12 was set up. The Coal Digger was accepted as the official organ; resolutions for a special international convention, the release of class war prisoners, a call to all members that had been expelled by the Lewis machine to return to the organization, condemnation of the frame-up of the Ziegler miners and demanding their release, miners relief, all other resolutions were adopted un-

animously with the rank and file discussing them at length.

Watt Speaks.

John Watt, Vice-President of National Committee, was received with a thunderous applause. He eloquently pointed out the situation of the coal mining industry, the role of the Lewis machine and the task of the rank and file members in their epochal struggle.

The young miners showed a spirit of determination to fight side by side with the adult miners. A resolution introduced by Gerry Allard calling for the immediate mobilization of the young miners through a conference to be held June 9th in Belleville was adopted. The young miners held a conference of their own, elected Gerry Allard as their district secretary and immediately laid the basis for organization work.

A committee of 20 young miners was elected to take charge of the provisional youth conference.

Scores Unable to Come.

The convention deliberated quite actively upon the many problems. Scores of miners were not permitted to come due to the financial condition of the miners themselves. Most of the delegates hiked or came in Fords that they could borrow. The spirit of the convention was fine in every respect.

Dan Slinger, newly elected secretary-treasurer of the district, closed the convention by saying: "There can be no hesitation on our part, there can be no doubts, nothing but determination to return to our respective localities and build an organization that will lead and fight for the miners of this country."

By Fred Ellis

HANDOUTS

A NEW way of expressing friendship has been hit upon by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., principal owner of the Consolidation Coal Company, who has just announced he will show his kindness for his slaving miners by shutting down ten plants and discharging twenty per cent of his men. Rockefeller is willing to admit it is not purely an act of self-sacrifice on his part, his statement saying he felt "reduction of tonnage as well as of miners would be constructive benefit on both sides." A fellow who expresses his love in this unique manner is the kind of a man who would slip fly-paper into his wife's coat as a mark of esteem, toss a concrete dog biscuit to his collie as a symbol of affection and tip his waitress with a Canadian dime to show his regard.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S plans to deliver this year's Memorial Day address at the Gettysburg battlefield, where no president has had the courage or naivete to make a speech since Abraham Lincoln's day, shows the progress of the republican party. Lincoln is supposed to have scribbled out the classic political speech of nineteenth century capitalism on the back of an envelope on the train en route to Gettysburg. Several days before the hour of Coolidge's address, however, the speech Coolidge is to deliver on the graveyard of American chattel slavery was run off by the thousand in the government printing plant at Washington. It was then sent broadcast through the mail to newspaper offices, to be set in advance and held in type for release when the great moment arrives. It is probable that Coolidge didn't even have to write the speech himself. He isn't a great hand to write.

It is always dangerous to attempt to predict literary verdicts of the remote future. But the advance press copy of the address Cal Coolidge will deliver across the flag-wound 2-by-four pine railing at Gettysburg May 30 is at hand. And it does not seem likely in hearing a reference to the Gettysburg address that anybody in the remote future will ask: "Which Gettysburg address?"

Twelve of England's most prominent military clowns, including Sir Eric Geddes, who is said never to have seen a trench until the armistice, last week put on their masquerade costumes and amidst great ceremony were inducted into the Order of Bath by King George V. These militarist juveniles try to keep secret the manner in which the order originated which is as follows: King Henry IV established the order at the beginning of the fifteenth century. A soldier knelt before the sovereign to be knighted but the king couldn't bear the unique odor of the military man. He thereupon addressed him in these words, "This brave fellow requires rest and refreshment after his prolonged heroism. Take him away and give him a bath and fresh raiment and sustenance. Then bring him again before me, to be knighted."

Solo Bunion Artist



Keen disappointment now gnaws at the breast of William Grow, 85, of Idaho Falls, Idaho. After walking from his home town to Oregon, Utah, 180 miles, to attend an old folks celebration, he learned that it had been postponed indefinitely because of the weather.

OFFICIALLY and unofficially Rome and Washington are getting closer and closer. According to a dispatch yesterday the board of governors of the National Press Club at Washington has voted a non-resident membership to Premier Mussolini, who is the owner of the Rome newspaper D'Italia. And another dispatch said that Mussolini had directed that an active membership card in the fascist party be given to Luigi Barzini, editor of the Corriere di America. The first thing we know Mussolini will be sending word to the pope that the next Mussolini baby is to be christened Calvin.

The liberals have lately been conducting in the columns of the New Republic, the Modern Quarterly and elsewhere an inquisition over their souls. And after much painful probing some of them have come to the conclusion that the class struggle really does exist. But the socialist party knows better. Not much struggle for guys with the incomes of Hillquit, Berger, Cahan & Co.

Jimmy Walker, the song writer, has just completed a walking tour of the excavations for new subways to determine whether a five-cent fare can be retained on the lines already operating. If the mayor should want a coca cola look for him in a hardware store.